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ALGONQUIAN (FOX)

AN ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCH

BY

WILLIAM JONES
(REVISED BY TRUMAN MICHELSON)

EXTRACT FROM HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN
LANGUAGES (BULLETIN 40), PART 1, OF BUREAU OF
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Nov. 5, 1947

ALGONQUIAN
(FOX)

BY

WILLIAM JONES
(REVISED BY TRUMAN MICHELSON)

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N.A. Ling, J

GIFT OF CAROLINE WHITTLESLEY
ANDRUS

IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM JONES
NOV. 5, 1947

CONTENTS

	Page
Introductory note.....	739
§ 1. The dialect of the Fox.....	740
§§ 2-12. Phonetics.....	741
§ 2. General characteristics.....	741
§ 3. Sounds.....	742
§ 4. Sound-clusters.....	745
§ 5. Quantity.....	746
§ 6. Stress.....	747
§ 7. Pitch.....	748
§§ 8-12. Sound-changes.....	749
§ 8. Accretion.....	749
§ 9. Variation of consonants.....	753
§ 10. Contraction and assimilation.....	754
§ 11. Dissimilation.....	755
§ 12. Elision.....	756
§ 13. Grammatical processes.....	758
§ 14. Ideas expressed by grammatical processes.....	759
§§ 15-54. Discussion of grammar.....	762
§§ 15-24. Composition.....	762
§§ 15-21. Verbal composition.....	762
§ 15. Types of stems.....	762
§ 16. Initial stems.....	763
§§ 17-20. Secondary stems.....	793
§ 17. Types of secondary stems.....	793
§ 18. Secondary stems of the first order.....	794
§ 19. Secondary stems of the second order.....	797
§ 20. Secondary co-ordinative stems.....	802
§ 21. Instrumental particles.....	807
§§ 22-24. Substantival composition.....	809
§ 22. Character of substantives.....	809
§ 23. Secondary stems.....	810
§ 24. Nominal suffixes.....	811
§ 25. Reduplication.....	814
§§ 26-41. The verb.....	815
§ 26. Pronoun, voice, and mode.....	815
§ 27. Tense.....	816
§§ 28-34. Pronominal forms.....	817
§ 28. Independent mode.....	817
§ 29. Conjunctive, aorist and future; subjunctive, present and past.....	820
§ 30. Potential, potential subjunctive, and prohibitive.....	824
§ 31. Imperative.....	826
§ 32. The interrogative mode.....	826
§ 33. Participials.....	828
§ 34. Third person animate.....	830

§§ 15-54. Discussion of grammar—Continued	Page
§§ 26-41. The verb—Continued	
§ 35. Syntactic use of modes and tenses	839
§§ 36-41. Pre-pronominal elements.....	842
§ 36. Formal value of pre-pronominal elements.....	842
§ 37. Causal particles.....	842
§ 38. The reciprocal verb.....	844
§ 39. The reflexive verb.....	845
§ 40. The middle voice.....	845
§ 41. The passive voice.....	846
§ 42. Syntactic forms of the substantiva	849
§ 43. The adjective	850
§§ 44-49. Pronouns.....	851
§ 44. The independent personal pronoun.....	851
§ 45. The possessive pronoun.....	851
§ 46. The reflexive pronoun.....	854
§ 47. The demonstrative pronouns	854
§ 48. Indefinite pronouns, positive and negative.....	856
§ 49. Interrogative pronouns.....	856
§§ 50-52. Numerals.....	857
§ 50. Cardinal numbers.....	857
§ 51. Ordinals.....	862
§ 52. Iteratives and distributives.....	863
§ 53. Adverbs.....	865
§ 54. Interjections.....	867
§ 55. Conclusion.....	867
Text.....	868

ALGONQUIAN

(FOX)

By WILLIAM JONES

(Revised by TRUMAN MICHELSON)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The following sketch of the grammar of the Fox was written by Dr. William Jones in 1904. Shortly after the completion of the manuscript Doctor Jones was appointed by the Carnegie Institution of Washington to conduct investigations among the Ojibwa of Canada and the United States, and it was his intention to revise the Fox grammar on the basis of the knowledge of the Ojibwa dialect which he had acquired.

Unfortunately Doctor Jones's investigations among the Ojibwa were discontinued before he was able to complete the scientific results of his field-studies, and he accepted an appointment to visit the Philippine Islands for the Field Museum of Natural History, of Chicago. The duties which he had taken over made it impossible for him to continue at the time his studies on the Algonquian dialects, and finally he fell a victim to his devotion to his work.

Thus it happened that the sketch of the Fox grammar was not worked out in such detail as Doctor Jones expected. Meanwhile Doctor Jones's collection of Fox texts were published by the American Ethnological Society, and Doctor Truman Michelson undertook the task of revising the essential features of the grammar by a comparison of Doctor Jones's statements with the material contained in the volume of texts.

On the whole, it has seemed best to retain the general arrangement of the material given by Doctor Jones, and Doctor Michelson has confined himself to adding notes and discussions of doubtful points wherever it seemed necessary. All the references to the printed series of texts, the detailed analyses of examples, and the analysis of the text printed at the end of the sketch, have been added by Doctor Michelson. Longer insertions appear signed with his initials.

FRANZ BOAS.

MARCH, 1910.

§ 1. THE DIALECT OF THE FOX

The Fox speak a dialect of the central group of Algonquian Indians. By "central group" is meant the Algonquian tribes that live or have lived about the Great Lakes, particularly in the adjoining regions west and south, and now embraced by the territory of the states of Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. The group contains many dialects, some of which are the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Menominee, Kickapoo, Sauk and Fox.

The dialects present great similarity in the absolute forms of many words; but marked differences are noticed in the spoken language. Some of the differences are so wide as to make many of the dialects mutually unintelligible. This lack of mutual comprehension is due in some measure to variations of intonation and idiom, and in a certain degree to slight differences of phonetics and grammatical forms.

The extent of diversity among the dialects varies; for instance, Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi are so closely related that a member of any one of the three experiences only slight difficulty in acquiring a fluent use of the other's dialect. The transition from Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi to Menominee is wider, and it is further still to Kickapoo and to Sauk and Fox.

Some of the dialects, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, are disintegrating. The breaking-up is not uniform throughout a dialect: it is faster in the regions where civilized influences predominate or play a controlling force; while the purer forms are maintained in the places where ideas of the old-time life and associations have a chance to live and survive. The dialect of the Mexican band of Kickapoo is holding its own with great vigor; but not quite the same can be said for Menominee or Sauk. Sauk and Fox are the same speech with feeble differences of intonation and idiom. Kickapoo is closely akin to both, but is a little way removed from them by slight differences of vocabulary, intonation, and idiom. The dialect taken up here is the Fox, which is spoken with as much purity as Kickapoo.

§ 1

The number of the Foxes is nearly four hundred, and they live on Iowa River at a place in Tama county, Iowa. They call themselves *Meskwa'kī'ā'g'* RED-EARTH PEOPLE, and are known to the Ojibwa and others of the north as *Utagāmī'g* PEOPLE OF THE OTHER SHORE. Among their totems is an influential one called the Fox. It is told in tradition that members of this totem were the first in the tribe to meet the French; that the strangers asked who they were, and the reply was, *Wā'gō'ā'g'* PEOPLE OF THE FOX CLAN: so thereafter the French knew the whole tribe as Les Renards, and later the English called them Foxes, a name which has clung to them ever since.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-12)

§ 2. General Characteristics

There is a preponderance of forward sounds, and a lack of sharp distinction between *k*, *t*, *p*, and their parallels *g*, *d*, *b*. The first set leave no doubt as to their being unvoiced sounds: their acoustic effect is a direct result of their organic formation. The same is not true with the second set. They form for voiced articulation, but their acoustic effect is plainly that of surds: when the sonant effect is caught by the ear, it is of the feeblest sort. Sometimes *l* is substituted for *n* in careless speech. Vowels are not always distinct, especially when final. There is weak distinction between *w* and *y*, both as vowel and as consonant.

Externally the language gives an impression of indolence. The lips are listless and passive. The widening, protrusion, and rounding of lips are excessively weak. In speech the expiration of breath is uncertain; for instance, words often begin with some show of effort, then decrease in force, and finally die away in a lifeless breath. Such is one of the tendencies that helps to make all final vowels inaudible: consequently modulation of the voice is not always clear and sharp.

The same indistinctness and lack of clearness is carried out in continued discourse, in fact it is even increased. Enunciation is blurred, and sounds are elusive, yet it is possible to indicate something of the nature of length, force, and pitch of sounds.

§ 3. Sounds

Consonants

The system of consonants is represented by the following table:¹

	Stop	Spirant and affricative	Nasal	Lateral
Glottal	ʔ	ʔ	—	—
Post-palatal	k, g	—	—	—
Palatal	ʔ	—	—	—
Alveolar	—	c, s	—	l
Dental	t, ʔ, d	ts, tc	n	—
Labial	p, ʔ, b	—	m	—
		h, ʔhw, y		

ʔ a soft glottal stop resembling a feeble whispered cough. It occurs before initial vowels: ʔaʔtciʔ lacrosse stick.

[ʔ intervocalic is presumably a spirant with glottal stricture.—T. M.]

ʔ denotes a whispered continuant before the articulation of k, t, and p.

[The closure is so gradual that the corresponding spirant is heard faintly before the stop, so that the combination is the reverse of the fricative. Thus ʔpyātcʔ WHEN HE CAME is to be pronounced nearly as ʔfpyātcʔ with bilabial f.—T. M.] It occurs also before h.

h an aspirate sound almost like h in *hall*, *hail*, *hull*. It is soft breath with feeble friction passing the vocal chords, and continuing on through the narrowed glottis: nahiʔ hey! listen!

ʔh an aspirate of the same origin as h, but without an inner arrest. The tongue is drawn back and raised high, making the air-passage narrow; it has a sudden release at the moment almost of seeming closure: maʔʔhwāʔwʔ wolf.

hw a bilabial, aspirate glide, starting at first like h, and ending with the air-passage wider and the ridge of the tongue slightly lowered: paʔnahwāʔwʔ he missed hitting him.

k like the k-sound in *caw*, *crawl*. The stoppage makes and bursts without delay on the forward part of the soft palate: kahoʔ hist!

¹ It should be pointed out that in the Fox Texts d and t, g and k, b and p, often interchange. This is due to the peculiar nature of b, d, g. Dr. Jones has simply tried to record the sounds as he heard them when taking down the stories. Wherever such fluctuation occurs, the actual sound pronounced was undoubtedly b, d, g. As an example we may give wdpA wdbA TO LOOK AT.—T. M.

- g* a *k*-sound articulated in the same position as *k*. But the closure is dull and sustained, with a pause between the stop and break, leaving an acoustic effect of almost a medial sonant: *ā'gw'* no.
- 'k* an outer *k*-sound like the one in *keen, keep, key*. The articulation is farther front than for *k* or *g*. The spiritus asper is for a hiss of breath that escapes before complete closure: *i'kwä'w^a* woman.
- c* like the voiceless *sh* in *she, shame, mash*. The sibilant is made with friction between the tongue and upper alveolar. The opening is narrow, and the tip of the tongue is near the lower teeth: *cäsk'* only.
- s* a hissing surd articulated with the tip of the tongue against the lower teeth. The air-passage is narrow and without stop: *wä'sesi'^a* bull-head.
- tc* like *ch* in *chill, cheap, church*. The articulation is with the ridge of the tongue behind the upper alveolar, while the blade is near the lower alveolar: *tcī'stä'^e* or *tcistcä'^e* heavens and earth!
- t* a pure dental surd articulated with the point of the tongue against the upper teeth and with sudden stress: *tete'pisä'w^a* he whirls round.
- d* a dental articulated in the same place as *t*, but delayed and with less stress. It leaves the impression of almost a voiced stop: *me'däsw'* ten.
- 't* a dental surd differing from *t* only in the fact that an audible hiss is expelled just previous to a full stop: *me''tät'* bow.
- l* a lateral liquid sometimes heard in careless speech. It often replaces the nasal *n* after *u, a*, and the dull *ä*. The point of the tongue articulates softly with the upper alveolar, the friction being so slight that the sound has much the nature of a vowel. It is like *l* in *warble*: *wä'bigulū'^a* for *wäbigunū'^a* mouse.
- n* not quite like the *n* in English, the articulation being with the point of the tongue at the base of the upper teeth: *nī'n^a* I.
- m* a bilabial nasal consonant like *m* in English: *mä'n^a* this.
- p* a surd like the sharp tenuis *p* in English; it is made with complete closure, and the stop usually breaks with a slight puff of breath: *pyä'w^a* he comes.

b a bilabial stop with almost the value of a sonant; it differs from *p* in being dull and having less stress. The lips close and are momentarily sustained, as if for a sonant, but break the stop with a breath: *wá'ban'* morning light.

'p like *p*, but with the difference of having first to expel a puff of breath before coming to complete closure: *ü'pyātc'* when he came.

y like the voiced spirant *y* in *you, yes*. It is uttered without stress: *wä'tcīyā'ni* whence I came.

w bilabial liquid like the English *w* in *war, water*: *wāwī'gewā'g'* at their dwelling-place.

Vowels

ū like the vowel-sound in words like *loon, yule, you, and clue*. It is long and slightly rounded; the ridge of the tongue is high and back, and the lips and teeth have a thin opening: *ū'wiyā'a* somebody.

u like the *u*-sound in *full and book*. The vowel is short, open, and faintly rounded. It is the short of *ū*: *pyä'tusä'w^a* he comes walking.

ō like *o* in words like *no, slope, rose*. The vowel is long and slightly less rounded than *ū*; the ridge of the tongue is not so high and not so far back as for *ū*: *ā'mōw'* honey.

o like *o* in *fellow and hotel*. It is the short sound of *ō*: *nōtā'gosi'wa* he is heard.

a like the short vowel-sound in words like *not, plot, what*. The vowel suffers further shortening in final syllables; it is uttered with the ridge of the tongue drawn back; the lips are passive: *nā'husä'w^a* he can walk.

ɹ like the vowel-sound in *sun, hut*; it is short, dull, unrounded, and made with the ridge of the tongue slightly lifted along the front and back: *mɹ'n'* this.

ɔ as in the broad vowel-sound of words like *all, wall, law, awe*. The ridge of the tongue is low, and pulled back almost to the uvula; the lips make a faint attempt to round: *wá'bamōn'* mirror.

ā like *a* in *father, alms*. The tongue lies low, back, and passive; the lips open listlessly and only slightly apart: *māhan'* these.

ä longer than the *a* in *sham, alley*. The *ä* in German *Bär* is probably more nearly akin. It is broad, and made with the tongue well forward; the opening of the lips is slightly wider than for *ā*; the quantity is in fact so long as to be diphthongal. The first part of the sound is sustained with prolonged emphasis, while the second is blurred and falling. The character of this second sound depends upon the next mould of the voice-passage: *mā'nāw^a* there is much of it.

ē like the *a*-sound in *tale, ale, late*. It is made with the ridge of the tongue near the forward part of the palate; the lips open out enough to separate at the corners, but the rift there is not clear and sharp: *nahē^t* hark!

e like the vowel-sound in *men, led, let*. It is a shorter sound of *ē*: *pe'm^t* oil, grease.

ī with much the character of the diphthong in words like *see, sea, tea, key*. It is the most forward of all the vowels; the opening of the lips is lifeless: *nī'n^a* I.

i like the *i* in *sit, miss, fit*. It is the short of *ī*; it is even shorter as a final vowel: *äi'cimi'tc^t* just as he told me.

§ 4. Sound-Clusters

Consonantic Clusters

The language is not fond of consonant-clusters. In the list that follows are shown about all of the various combinations. Most of them are with *w* and *y*, and so are not types of pure clusters of consonants:

Consonant Combinations

<i>kw</i>	<i>kwī'yen^a</i> exactly
<i>gw</i>	<i>ā'gw^t</i> no
<i>'kw</i>	<i>i'kwāw^a</i> woman
<i>hw</i>	<i>keci''kahwā'w^a</i> he stabs him
<i>'hw</i>	<i>ma''hwāw^a</i> wolf
<i>sw</i>	<i>me'dāsw^t</i> ten
<i>cw</i>	<i>me'cwā^a</i> rabbit
<i>tw</i>	<i>ɹ'twī'</i> ouch
<i>mw</i>	<i>ɹ'mwāw^a</i> he eats him
<i>nw</i>	<i>nō'tenw^t</i> wind
<i>pw</i>	<i>pwā'w^t</i> not

<i>pw</i>	<i>u'pwāgΔ'n^t</i>	pipe
<i>bw</i>	<i>Δ'bwātcigΔ'n^t</i>	roasting-spit
<i>ky</i>	<i>kekyä'nena'mw^a</i>	he holds it
<i>gy</i>	<i>u'gyän^t</i>	his mother
<i>'ky</i>	<i>a''kyän^t</i>	lands
<i>cy</i>	<i>me''tegumicyä'n^t</i>	oaks
<i>my</i>	<i>myä'w^t</i>	road
<i>ny</i>	<i>nyä'w^t</i>	four
<i>py</i>	<i>pyä'w^a</i>	he comes
<i>'py</i>	<i>ä''pyātc^t</i>	when he comes

The following true consonantic clusters occur:

<i>sk</i>	<i>cä'sk^t</i>	only
<i>ck</i>	<i>mΔ'cicki'w^t</i>	grass
<i>stc</i>	<i>tcistcä'°</i>	my stars!

Diphthongs

Not more than two vowels combine to form a diphthong. Stress is stronger on the leading member, and movement of the voice is downward from the first to the second vowel.

ai like the diphthong in *my*, *I*; *aiyānī'°* opossum

Δi like the diphthong in *turn* with the *r* slurred; *a'sai* skin

ēi like the diphthong in *day*, *play*; *nahēi'* now then!

Δi' like the diphthong in *soil*, *boy*; *mΔ'ināhwa'w^a* he went at him

au like the diphthong in *shout*, *bout*; *hau* halloo!

ōu like the diphthong in *foe*, *toe*; *pyānō'u* come here!

§ 5. Quantity

Vowels vary in length, and in the analysis of sounds they have their phonetic symbols indicating quantity. A vowel with the macron (—) over it is long, as *ō*, *ū*, *ā*, and *ī*, and a vowel without the sign is short. Some vowels are so short that they indicate nothing more than a faint puff of breath. The short, weak quantity is the normal quantity of the final vowel, and for that reason is in superior letter, as *a*, *i*. Rhetorical emphasis can render almost any vowel long—so long that the vowel-sound usually develops into a diphthong, as *āgwē'i* WHY, NO, OF COURSE! (from *ā'gw^t* NO).

Change of quantity is often due to position. Long vowels are likely to suffer loss of quantity at the beginning of long combinations: *nā'k^a* AGAIN becomes *na'k^t* in the phrase *na'katcāmegutāΔ'gi* AGAIN

IT CERTAINLY SEEMED AS IF. Long vowels also shorten when placed before a stressed syllable: *a''kig'* ON THE GROUND becomes *a'kigä'hi-nābi'tc'* WHEN HE LOOKED DOWN AT THE GROUND.

Diphthongs undergo change of quantity. The accent of a diphthong slides downward from the first vowel, and the loss when it comes is in the breaking-off of the second member: *a'sa'* BUCKSKIN, *ne'tasā'm'* MY BUCKSKIN.

Consonants show evidence of quantity also. In general, the quantity is short; but the length of time between the stop and break in *g*, *d*, and *b*, is noticeable, so much so that the effect of a double sound is felt. As a matter of fact, *g* stands for a double sound. The first part is an articulation for an inner *k*, and in gliding forward comes to the place for *g* where the stoppage breaks. Assimilation tends to reduce the double to a single sound. Nasal sonant *m* and *n* sound double before accented *i*: *mī'mīw^a* PIGEON, *nī'na* I.

A syllable consists (1) of a single vowel-sound, *ä*; (2) of two or more vowels joined together into a diphthong, *'wai'* WHAT?; and (3) of a vowel-sound in combination with a single consonant or a cluster of consonants, the vocalic sound always following the consonant: *nī'tci* MY KIND. Two or more vowels coming together, no two of which are in union as a diphthong, are broken by an interval between: *ähi'owā'tci* SO THEY SAID.

§ 6. Stress

Force is but another name for stress, and indicates energy. It is not possible to lay down definite rules for the determination of stress in every instance, and it is not always clear why some syllables are emphasized at the expense of others. Generally, in words of two syllables, stress-accent falls on the first, *kī'n^a* THOU; for words of three syllables, stress falls on the antepenult, *kwi'yen^a* SUFFICIENTLY. Beyond words of three syllables, only the semblance of a rule can be suggested. The chief stress comes on the first or second of the initial syllables, and the secondary stress on the penult; the syllables between follow either an even level, or more often a perceptible rise and fall alternating feebly up to the penult. In accordance with its rising nature the principal stress can be considered as acute (´), and in the same manner the fall of the secondary stress can be termed as grave (`). The sonorous tone of the voice on the penult is marked,

due perhaps to the extreme brevity of the final, inarticulate vowel. The feature of the sonorous penult is apparent in extended combinations like phrases and sentences, especially when movement is swift at the start, and, gradually slowing up on the way, brings up at the syllable next to the last with a sustained respite which ends with a sudden break into the final vowel. The arrival on the penult creates one or two effects according as the syllable is long or short. If the quantity is long, the vowel is sung with falling voice; if short, the vowel is brought out with almost the emphasis of a primary stress-accent.

This makes a fairly normal order for stress in a single group standing alone; but it suffers interference in the spoken language where the measure of a syllable for special stress often becomes purely relative. The stress on one syllable brings out a certain particular meaning, and on another gains an effect of a different sort. Stressing the stem of *wá'baminu* LOOK AT ME exaggerates the idea of LOOK; stressing the penult *-mí'-*, the syllable of the object pronoun, centers the attention on that person; and stressing the final member *-nu'* THOU makes the second personal subject pronoun the object of chief concern.

Special stress often splits a vocalic sound into two vowels of the same or a different kind. This is common in the case of pronouns, in words of introductive import, in vocatives of spirited address, and in cries calling at a distance: *í'in'* for *í'n'* THAT; *nahēi'* for *nahí'* HARK; *nenīwetigē'i* for *ne'nīwetig'* OH, YE MEN! *pyāgō'u* for *pyā'g'* COME YE.

§ 7. Pitch

This Algonquian dialect does not fall wholly in the category of a stressed language. Pitch is ever present in a level, rising, or falling tone. The effect of pitch is strong in the long vowels of the penult. Temperament and emotion bring out its psychological feature. For instance, pride creates a rising tone, and a feeling of remorse lets it fall. In the sober moments of a sacred story the flow of words glides along in a musical tone; the intonation at times is so level as to become a tiresome monotone; again it is a succession of rises and falls, now ascending, now descending, and with almost the effect of song. In general, the intonation of ordinary speech is on a middle scale. The tone of men is lower than that of women and children.

Sound-Changes (§§ 8-12)

§ 8. *Accretion*

In the course of word-formation, phonetic elements are taken on that have the impress of mere accretions. The additions are the result of various causes: some are due to reduplication; some to accent; and others act as glides between vowels, and as connectives between unrelated portions of a word-group. Instances of the accretion of some of these phonetic elements are next to be shown.

Syllabic Accretion

A syllable, usually in the initial position, is sometimes repeated by another which precedes and maintains the same vowel-sound. The repetition is in fact a reduplication:

ĩ'ni wäyätu'geme'g^u and so in truth it may have been, for *ĩ'ni yätu'geme'g^u*

It is not always clear whether some accretions are but glides passing from one sound to another, or only additions to aid in maintaining stress-accent on a particular syllable. The syllable *hu* is a frequent accretion in dependent words, and occurs immediately after the temporal article *ä*:

ähugu'kahigäwä'tc' WHEN THEY MADE A BRIDGE is the conjunctive for *ku'kahigäwä'g'* THEY MADE A BRIDGE

ähuke'piskwätawähönüwe'tc' WHICH THEY USED AS A FLAP OVER THE ENTRY-WAY [cf. 354.22] is a subordinate form of *ke'piskwätawä'hönämō'g'* THEY USED IT FOR A FLAP OVER THE ENTRANCE

[I am convinced that *hu* is not a glide nor an addition to maintain the stress-accent on a particular syllable, but is to be divided into *h-u*, in which *h* is a glide, but *u* a morphological element. In proof of this I submit the following: There is an initial stem *wigi* TO DWELL (*wige* also; cf. *küwe* beside *küwi* [§16]). Thus *wigiw^a* HE DWELLS 220.22 (*-w^a* §28). Observe that we have *wihuwigewätc'* WHERE THEY WERE TO LIVE 56.5 (future conjunctive, §29) beside *ähuwigewätc'* WHERE THEY LIVED 56.23 (for *-wätc'*; aorist conjunctive, §29); *ähuwigi-wätc'* WHERE THEY LIVED 94.21; *ähuwigiyāg* WHERE WE (excl.) WERE LIVING 216.1 (aor. conj. §29); *ähuwigite* WHERE HE LIVED 42.20 (§29); *ähuwiginite'* WHERE HE WAS STAYING 182.8 (§34). That is to say, *hu* is

found after *wi-* as well as *ā-*. Now, it should be observed that we have *hu* after *ā-* in some stems regularly; in others it never occurs. As *h* is unquestionably used as a glide, we are at once tempted to regard the *u* as a morphological element. But a direct proof is *wāwiginĩtcĩ*¹ HE WHO DWELLED THERE 80.9, 12, 20; 82.10, 22; 84.10, 21; 86.2, 20. This form is a participial (§ 33), showing the characteristic change of *u* to *wā* (§ 11). Hence the *wā* points to an initial *u*, which can not be a glide, as nothing precedes; and *h* is absent. Now, this *u* is found in *ā'kĩwi'wĩgewātc'* WHEN THEY WENT TO LIVE SOMEWHERE 66.15 (*ā-wātc'*, § 29; *kĩwi* is an extended form of *kĩ*, an initial stem denoting INDEFINITE MOTION, § 16; 'k for *k* regularly after *ā*).—T. M.]

Other additions, like *h*, *w*, *y*, are clearly glides:

ā'hutci'tc' WHENCE HE CAME, the independent form of which is
u'tciw^a HE CAME FROM SOME PLACE

ā'hunāpāmi'tc' WHEN SHE TOOK A HUSBAND, a temporal form
for *unā'pāmi'w^a* SHE TOOK A HUSBAND

o'wīw^an' his wife (from *owī-ānī*)

owī'tāw^an' his brother-in-law (from *owī'tā-ānī*)

ketāsi'yūtū'w^a he crawls up hill (from *ketāsi-ūtāwa*)

kī'yāwā'w^a he is jealous (from *kī-āwāwa*)

Consonantic Accretion

A frequent type of accretion is *w* or *y* with *k*, forming a cluster:

tca''kwiwinā'w^a he is short-horned (from *tca'gi-wināwa*)

tca''kwāpyā'w' it is short (from *tca'gi-āpyāwi*)

sāsi'gā'kyā'w^a he scattered it (this is just the same in meaning
as *sāsi'gā'kdw^a*)

Intervocalic Consonants

The most common accretion is *t*.¹ It falls in between two vowels, each of which is part of a different member in a word-group.

Examples:

Between *i* and *e*: *a''kwitepyā'g'* top of the water

Between *e* and *ā*: *netā'āpanā'n'* I laugh

Between *ā* and *ō*: *ā'watō'w^a* he carries it away

Between *ā* and *u*: *pyā'tusā'w^a* he came walking

Between *ō* and *ā*: *pī'tōtā'w^a* he crawls in

¹ *t* serves as a connective in an inanimate relation, and will be mentioned again.

[In so far as *-ōā-* is a secondary stem of the second order (§ 19), the *-t-* can not be an intervocalic inserted phonetically. The same applies to the *s* in *-isā-* cited below.—T. M.]

When the vowel of the second member is *i*, then *t* usually becomes *tc*:

Between *i* and *i*: *pī'tcisā'w^a* it (bird) flew in

Between *ā* and *i*: *kepa'tciga'nⁱ* cork, stopper

Between *ā* and *i*: *kugwā'tcisā'w^a* it (bird) tries to fly

Between *ā* and *i*: *kiwā'tcitāhā'w^a* he is lonely

Sometimes *n* has the value of an intervocalic consonant. It often occurs immediately after the temporal particle *ā*:

tcāgānā'towātcī'g^t PEOPLE OF ALL LANGUAGES, a participial with the elements of *tcā'g^t* ALL, *ā* having the force of the relative pronoun WHO, and *ā'towāwā'g^t* THEY SPEAK A LANGUAGE.

ānāpatag^t WHEN HE SAW THEM 206.18 as contrasted with *ātāpā-patag* HE HAD A FEEBLE VIEW OF IT IN THE DISTANCE 206.16

[Is *āpa-* TO SEE related with *wāpa-* TO SEE, TO LOOK AT?—T. M.]

ānā'pawātc^t HE DREAMED 206 TITLE; 210.17 (*ā—tc^t* [§ 29]) contrasted with *īnā'ā'pawātc^t* THEN HE HAD A DREAM 212.3; *ā'ā'pawātc^t* SHE HAD A DREAM 216.1

Sometimes *n* occurs between vowels much after the fashion of *t*:

Between *ā* and *e*: *myā'negā'w^a* he dances poorly

Between *ā* and *e*: *upyā'nesiw^a* he is slow

Between *ā* and *ā*: *myānā'pawāt^a* he that dreamed an ill omen TITLE 210; 212, 17, 20; 214.1, 10 (*myā + ā'pawā-* TO DREAM; participial [§ 33])

See, also, 212.4, 5, 7, 9, 10; 214.20

Between *i* and *a*: *ā'peminawatenag^t* then he went carrying it in his hand 194.12 (*ā—ag^t* [§ 29]; *pemi-awa-* (*āwa*) [§ 16]; *-t* [§ 21]; *-e* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

Between *i* and *ā*: *ke'tcināpyāyāwātc* when they drew nigh 152.2 (*ke'tci-* intensity; *pyā-* motion hither; *yā-* to go; *ā—wātc^t* [§ 29]; *-t* lost by contraction [§ 10])

Between *i* and *ā*: *ā'icināpamegut^c* as he was thus seen 76.6 (*-tc* for *-tc^t* [§ 10]; *ā—tc^t* [§ 29]; *ici-* THUS; *āpa-* same as *āpa* TO SEE; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]); *petegināpi'kan^t* thou shalt (not) look behind at me 382.9 (*peteg^t* BEHIND; *-i'kan^t* [§ 30])

[Is *ā'panāpamāwātc* THEY LOST SIGHT OF HIM 180.19 for *ā'pananā-pamāwātc^t* (§ 12)? The analysis would be *ā—āwātc^t* (§ 29); *panā-* (§ 16) TO MISS, TO FAIL TO; *āpa-* TO SEE; *-m-* (§ 29). Similarly

ä'panäpatāmātisuyan' YOU HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF THE SIGHT OF YOUR BODILY SELF 382.7 (ä—yan' [§ 29]; -tisū- [§39]).—T. M.]

While these consonants seem to be inserted for purely phonetic reasons, others, that appear in similar positions, seem to have a definite meaning, at least in some cases.

[Though I also think that in a few cases intervocalic consonants are inserted for purely phonetic reasons, yet I am convinced that in bulk we have to deal with a morphological element. Take, for example, *pyätcisāw^a* HE CAME IN FLIGHT. Here *-tc-* and *-s-* are regarded as intervocalics. Such is not the case. It stands for *pyätci* + *-isä-* + *w^a*, as is shown by *pyätcine'kawūw^a* HE COMES DRIVING THEM HOME (§ 16). The secondary stem *-ne'ka-* follows (§ 19) *pyätci-*. A vowel is elided before another (§ 10); hence the final *-i* of *pyätci-* is lost before *-isä-* (§ 19). Similarly *-te-* seems to be added to *pyä-*. Note, too, *ä'pītīgātc'* WHEN HE ENTERED THE LODGE, compared with *pītciśāwag'* THEY CAME RUNNING IN (*pīt-*: *pīt-*: *pī-* = *pyät-*: *pyätc-*: *pyä-*. In short, *pīt-* stands for *pītci-*). I can not go into this further at present.—T. M.]

It looks as if *s* plays the same rôle as *t*, *tc*, and *n*, but on a smaller scale. Instances of its use are:

Between *e* and *i*: *asā'wesi'w^a* he is yellow

Between *i* and *ä*: *pyä'tcisä'w^a* he came in flight (*isä* [§ 19])

Between *a* and *ō*: *ne'masō'w^a* he is standing up

Between *u* and *ä*: *pyä'tusä'w^a* he came walking (*usä* [§ 19])

In these examples *s* has an intimate relation with the notion of animate being. It will be referred to later.

The consonant *m* is sometimes an intervocalic element:

nanāhi'cimä'w^a he carefully lays him away

pa'nem'amw^a he dropped it

Other functions of *m* will be mentioned farther on.

[It would seem that *me* is substituted for *m* when a consonant-cluster would otherwise be formed that is foreign to the language. (For such clusters as are found, see § 4.) Contrast *kewāpame'n^e* I LOOK AT THEE, with *newā'pamāw^a* I LOOK AT HIM; *äwāpamātc* HE THEN LOOKED AT HER 298.20; note also *newāpamegw^a* HE LOOKED AT ME 368.19; contrast *wāpame'k^u* LOOK YE AT HIM 242.19 with *wāpamin^u* LOOK THOU AT ME 322.3. Other examples for *me* are *kepyätciwāpamen^e* I HAVE COME TO VISIT YOU 242.11; *äwāpawāpamegut^c* WAS SHE WATCHED ALL THE WHILE 174.17; *pūnime'k^u* CEASE DISTURBING HIM (literally, cease talking with him [see § 21]) 370.18.

There is some evidence to show that a similar device was used in conjunction with *t* and *n*, but at present I have not sufficient examples to show this conclusively.

On further investigation it appears that the device of inserting a vowel to prevent consonant-clusters foreign to the Fox runs throughout the language. The vowel is usually *e*, but always *a* before *h* and *hw*. There is an initial stem *nes* TO KILL; compare *änesātc'* THEN HE KILLED HIM (*ä—ātc'* § 29). Contrast this with *änesequt'* THEN HE WAS SLAIN (*-gu-* sign of the passive [§ 41]); *neseqwā* 190.3 HE HAS BEEN SLAIN (independent mode, aorist, passive [§ 28]; *-wā* lengthened for *-w^a*); *näsegu^a* HE WHO HAD BEEN SLAIN 190.8 (passive participial; *-gu-* as above; *-t^a* [§ 33]; change of stem-vowel of *nes* [§§ 11, 33]). Other illustrations are *kusegw^a* HE WAS FEARED 56.14 (*-s-* [§ 21]), contrasted with *kusāw^a* HE FEARED HIM (*-āw^a* [§ 28]), *ku'āmw^a* HE FEARS IT ('*t*' [§ 21]; *-āmw^a* [§ 28]); *ä'to'kenātc* THEN HE WAKENED HER 104.18 (for *-tc'*; *-n-* [§ 21]; per contra *ä'tō'kītē* THEN HE WOKE UP 168.11); *ä'tāgenātc* HE TOUCHED HIM 158.5; *mī'kemegutcin'* HE BY WHOM SHE WAS WOODED 142.6 (passive participial; *mī'k-* [§ 16]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-gu-* [§ 41]; *-tcin'* [§ 33]); *mī'kemāw^a* HE WOODES HER (*-āw^a* [§ 28]); *ämī'kemātc'* WHEN HE WOODED HER 148.6 (*ä—ātc'* [§ 29]); *kōgenāw^a* HE WASHES HIM (*kōg-* [§ 16]; *-āw^a* [§ 28]; contrast *kōgīw^a* HE MIRES). For *a* as the inserted vowel observe *pītahwāw^a* HE BURIES HIM (*pīt-* [§ 16]; *-hw* [§ 21]; *-āw^a* [§ 28]); *kaskahāmw^a* HE ACCOMPLISHES AN ACT (*kask-* [§ 16]; *-h-* [§ 21]; *-āmw^a* [§ 28]); *ä'pītahwāwātc* THEN THEY BURIED HIM 160.2 (*ä—āwātc'* [§ 29]; *-t'* elided).—T. M.]

§ 9. Variation of Consonants

Some consonants interchange one with another. The process is marked among those with forward articulation. *s* and *c* interchange in:

me'se'kwā'w^a she has long hair

me'cāwⁱ it is large

Mäse'sībō'wⁱ large river (name for the Mississippi)

me'cimi'n^a large fruit (word for apple)

'*t* and *c* interchange:

me''tahwā'w^a he shot and hit him

me'cwāw^a he shot and hit him

'*t* and *s* interchange:

ne''tāmwā'w^a he killed him for another

ne'sāw^a he killed him

[For the interchange of sonant and surd stops see § 3.—T. M.]

§ 10. Contraction and Assimilation

Contraction is a frequent factor in sound-change. Instances will first be shown in the case of compounds where the process works between independent words. The final vowel of a word coalesces with the initial vowel of the next, with results like the following:

- ^a+ā becomes ā: *nī'nācī'it^a* I in turn (for *nī'n^a ā'cit^a*)
- ^a+ä becomes ä: *nā'kā'pyā'tcⁱ* again he came (for *nā'k^a ä'pyātⁱ*)
- ⁱ+a becomes a: *pyä'wagayō'ⁱ* they came to this place (for *pyä'-wagⁱ ayō'ⁱ*); *nä'gawa'kī'wⁱ* it is a sandy place (for *nä'gawⁱ a'kīwⁱ*)
- ⁱ+ä becomes ä: *ite'pähā'tcⁱ* he goes there (for *i'tepⁱ ä'hātⁱ*); *nepä'-nāte'gⁱ* they go to fetch water (for *ne'pⁱ ä'nāte'gⁱ*)
- ⁱ+i becomes i: *kā'ciw^a?* what does he say? (for *kā'cⁱ i'w^a?*); *ī'nipiyō'w^e* so it was told of yore (for *ī'nⁱ ipⁱ i'yō'w^e*)
- ⁱ+A becomes A: *nā'wasku'te* in the center of the fire (for *nā'wⁱ A'skutⁱ*); *āgwā'mātcī'nⁱ* he did not eat it (for *āgwⁱ Amwātci'nⁱ*)
- ⁱ+ā becomes ā: *āē'gāpe'^e* and often (for *āē'gⁱ ā'pe'^e*); *wātcā'gwi nenā'n* the reason why I did not tell thee (for *wā'tcⁱ āgwi'-nenā'nⁱ*)
- ⁱ+u becomes u: *negutu'kāte'gⁱ* on one of his feet (for *ne'gutⁱ u'kāte'gⁱ*); *tcī'gepyāgu'tcⁱ* away from the edge of the water (for *tcī'gepyā'gⁱ u'tcⁱ*)

The two vowels in contact may assimilate into a diphthong:

- ^a+a becomes ai: *ne'ci'kaiyo'ⁱ* alone here (for *ne'ci'k^a a'yō'ⁱ*)

The result of the assimilation of two vowels may produce a sound different from either:

- ^e+a becomes ä: *pyä'nutawitā'y^a* if he should come to me here (for *pyä'nutawi't^e a'yō'ⁱ*)
- ⁱ+a becomes ä: *mā'taci'kitcā'y^a* he might overtake me here (for *mā'taci'ki'tcⁱ a'yō'ⁱ*)

Contraction between contiguous words is usually in the nature of the first sound suffering loss either by absorption or substitution. In much the same way does contraction act between members that make up a word-group. But in an attempt to illustrate the process there is an element of uncertainty, which lies in the difficulty of accounting for the absolute form of each component; for many members of a composition seldom have an independent use outside of the group. They occur in composition only, and in such way as to adjust themselves for easy euphony, and in doing so often conceal

either an initial or a final part. Nevertheless, hypothetical equivalents are offered as attempts at showing what the pure original forms probably were. Hyphens between the parts mark the places where probable changes take their rise:

- i* + *e* becomes *e*: *pe'megä'w^a* he dances past (from *pemi-egäw^a*)
i + *ä* becomes *ä*: *mÄ'netöwäge'nⁱ* sacred garment (from *mÄnetöwi-ägenⁱ*); *cö'skwäge'nⁱ* smooth cloth (from *cöskwi-ägenⁱ*)
i + *a* becomes *a*: *pema'hogö'w^a* he swims past (from *pemi-ahogöw^a*); *tÄ'gwahötö'w^a* he is trapping (from *tagwi-ahötöw^a*)
i + *ä* becomes *ä*: *mÄci'skiwâpö'wⁱ* tea, i. e., herb fluid (from *mÄci-skiwi-âpöwⁱ*); *wicku'pâpö'wⁱ* wine, i. e., sweet fluid (from *wicku-pi-âpöwⁱ*)
i + *ä* becomes *ä*: *A'nemäskä'wⁱ* it fell the other way (from *Anemi-äskäwⁱ*)
i + *ö* becomes *ö*: *pe'möta'mw^a* she passes by with a burden on her back (from *pemi-ötämw^a*)
i + *u* becomes *u*: *pe'musä'w^a* he walks past (from *pemi-usäw^a*)
i + *ü* becomes *ü*: *pe'mütä'w^a* he crawls past (from *pemi-ütäw^a*)

[On the other hand, we find *pemipahöw^a* he passes by on the run (from *pemi-pahöw^a*).—T. M.]

Assimilation occurs between sounds not contiguous:

kicwinä'cwihä'w^a after he had two (for *kicinä'cwihä'w^a*)

§ 11. Dissimilation

Vowels often undergo dissimilation. A very common change is *o* or *u* to *wä*. The process takes place in the formation of participles from words having *o* or *u* as initial vowels:

- u'tcīw^a* he came thence; *wä'tcīt^a* he who came thence
u'tö'ki'mⁱ his land; *wä'tö'kimī't^a* he who owns land
u'gwisÄ'nⁱ his or her son; *wä'gwisi't^a* one who has a son
u'kātci his foot; *wä''kātci^a* one that has feet (name for a bake oven)
u'wīwī'nⁱ his horn; *wä'wīwīnā'ⁱ* one with small horn

The vowel *u* becomes *wä* when preceded by a consonant:

- ku'sigä'w^a* she plays at dice; *kwä'sigä't^a* she who plays at dice
nu'wīw^a he goes outside; *nwä'wīwāpe'^e* he always goes outside

The vowel *u* can also become *wä*:

- uwi'gewä'wⁱ* their dwelling-place; *wäwī'gewä'gⁱ* at their dwelling-place

[It should be observed that *ä* appears as *ā* under certain conditions. I can not determine at present whether this is a phonetic process or whether there is a morphological significance. As an example I give *pyāw*^a HE COMES; compare with this *ä'pyāt*^c WHEN HE CAME; *ä'pyāwāt*^c WHEN THEY CAME; *pyānu'* COME THOU! *pyāgō'*^u COME YE!—T. M.]

§ 12. Elision

Elision plays an important part in sound-change. It occurs at final and initial places and at points inside a word-group. The places where the process happens, and the influences bringing it about, are shown in the examples to follow.

In some cases a vowel drops out and a vocalic consonant as a glide takes its place, the change giving rise to a cluster made up of a consonant and a semi-vowel:

i drops out: *ä'wāpwāgesi'tc'* then she began to wail (from *äwāpi-wāgesitc'*); *ä''kyāwā'tc'* and he grew jealous (from *ä'ki-yāwāt*^c)

o drops out: *äwā'wīswā'tc'* he singed his hair (for *äwāwīso-'wāt*^c)

u drops out: *ä'sīswā'tc'* she fried them (from *äsisu-'wāt*^c)

Words sometimes suffer loss of initial vowel:

skotä'g' in the fire (for *ä'skotä'g'*)

tōcko'tāmwā'g' at their fire (for *ütōcko'tāmwā'g'*)

kwi'gāgō't nothing (for *ä'gwīgāgō't*)

nā'gwāt^c then he started away (for *ä'nāgwā'tc'*)

The loss often includes both initial consonant and vowel:

cwā'ci^a eight (for *ne'cwāci'g^a*)

a'ka'nigīce'gw' all day long (for *ne''kanigīce'gw'*)

The second member of a consonant-cluster frequently drops out:

ä'pā'wināwā'tc' when he did not see him (for *ä'pwā'wināwā'tc'*)

pe'muta'mw^a he shot at it (for *pe'mwuta'mw^a*)

The elision of *n* takes place before some formative elements:

ä'pā'gici'g' when it (a bird) alighted (a subordinate form of *pā'gici'nw^a* it [a bird] alighted)

nanā'hicimā'w^a he laid him away carefully; *nanā'hici'nw^a* he fixed a place to lie down

To slur over a syllable frequently brings about the loss of the syllable. In the instance below, the stressed, preserved syllable moves into the place made vacant, and becomes like the vowel that dropped out:

a'c' take her along (for *a'wac'*)

ä'wäpata'hogu'tc' then he started off carrying her on his back
(for *ä'wäpawata'hogu'tc'*)

The second part of a stem often suffers loss from the effect of having been slurred over:

kīwāi'yatci'tc' after he had gone (for *kīciwā'iyatci'tc'*)

kī'ke'kü'nemā'tc' after he had learned who he was (for *kī'cike'kü'nemā'tc'*)

ä'pwā'nāwā'tc' when he did not see him (for *ä'pwā'wināwā'tc'*)

ä'pwā'camā'tc' when he did not feed him (for *ä'pwā'wicamā'tc'*)

To slur over part of a pronominal ending causes loss of sound there:

uwī-'nemō'' his sisters-in-law (for *uwīne'mōha''*)

Removal of the grave accent one place forward causes elision of final vowel:

ne'ka'nitepe''k' all night long (for *ne'ka'nite'pe'kī'w'*)

Suffixes help to bring about other changes in the pronominal endings. A frequent suffix causing change is *-gi*: in some instances it denotes location, in others it is the sign for the animate plural. The suffix conveys other notions, and wherever it occurs some change usually happens to the terminal pronoun. One is the complete loss of the possessive ending *ni* before the suffix with the force of a locative. At the same time the vowel immediately in front of the suffix becomes modified:

ō'san' his father; *ō'seg'* at his father's (lodge)

u''kātā'n' his foot; *u''kāte'g'* at or on his foot

Another change before *-gi* is that of a pronoun into an *o* or *u* with the quantity sometimes short, but more often long. The change is usual if the pronoun follows a sibilant or *k*-sound:

u'wānā'gw' hole; *uwā'nāgō'g'* at the hole

ma''ka'kw' box; *ma''ka'ku'g'* at or in the box

me'tegw' tree; *me'tegu'g'* at the tree

kī'cesw^a sun; *kī'cesō'g'* at the sun, suns

ne'nusw^a buffalo; *ne'nusō'g'* buffaloes

The suffix *-gi* affects inanimate nouns ending in the diphthong *ai*. The first vocalic member lengthens into *ā*, and the second drops out:

u'piskwa' bladder; *u'piskwā'g'* on or at the bladder

utā'wawga' ear; *utā'wagā'g'* at or in the ear

The change of the pronominal ending into an *o* or *u* occurs in a similar manner before *n'*, a suffix sign of the inanimate plural:

u'wānΔ'gw' hole; *uwā'nΔgō'n'* holes
ma''ka'kw' box; *ma''ka'kō'n'* boxes
me'tegw' tree; *me'tegō'n'* trees

A *k*-sound stands before the terminal *wa* of some animate nouns. To shift an *ō* into the place of the *w* is a device for creating a diminutive:

mΔ''kw^a bear; *mΔ''kō^a* cub
Δ'caskw^a muskrat; *Δ'caskō^a* a little muskrat
ce'gāgw^a skunk; *ce'gāgō^a* should be the proper diminutive, but it happens to be the word for ONION, while KITTEN SKUNK is *cegā'gōhā^a*, a sort of double diminutive.

The substitution of *o* or *u* for *w* occurs with great frequency:

pā'gwāw' it is shallow; *pā'gōne'g'* the place of shallow water (the name for St Louis)
nācwī''kwāwΔ'g' two women; *nācō''kwāwū'w^a* he has two wives
me'ckw' blood; *me'ckusi'w^a* he is red
wī'pegwā'w' it is blue; *wīpe'gusi'w^a* he is blue

§ 13. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The principal process used for grammatical purposes is composition of stems. The stems are almost throughout of such character that they require intimate correlation with other stems, which is brought about by a complete coalescence of the group of component elements. These form a firm word-unit. Excepting a number of particles, the word-unit in Algonquian is so clearly defined that there can be no doubt as to the limits of sentence and word. Phonetic influences between the component elements are not marked.

The unit of composition is always the stem, and the word, even in its simplest form, possesses always a number of formative elements which disappear in new compositions. Examples of this process are the following:

pe'nāmū'w^a he imitated the turkey-call (from *penāwa-mūwa*)
ma''hwāmū'w^a he imitated the cry of the wolf (from *ma'hwāwa-mūwa*)
kīutū'gimā'mipe'n^a thou wilt be our chief (*ugimāw^a* chief)
nātunā'hwātu'g^e he may have sought for him (independent mode *nātu'nāhwāw^a* he seeks for him)

*pyä'gwän*⁴ he must have come (independent mode *pyä'w^a* he came)

Most of the elements that enter into composition are so nearly of the same order, that we can not properly speak of prefixes or suffixes. Those groups that may be considered in a more specific sense as grammatical formatives, such as pronouns, elements indicating the animate and inanimate groups, are largely suffixed to groups of co-ordinate stems.

Another process extensively used by the Algonquian is reduplication, which is particularly characteristic of the verb. It occurs with a variety of meanings.

Modification of the stem-vowel plays also an important part and occurs in the verbal modes.

§ 14. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The extended use of composition of verbal stems is particularly characteristic of the Algonquian languages. These stems follow one another in definite order. A certain differentiation of the ideas expressed by initial stems and by those following them, which may be designated as secondary stems, may be observed, although it seems difficult to define these groups of ideas with exactness.

It seems that, on the whole, initial stems predominate in the expression of subjective activities, and that they more definitely perform the function of verbs; while, on the other hand, secondary stems are more intimately concerned with the objective relations. It is true that both initial and secondary stems sometimes refer to similar notions, like movement and space; but it is possible to observe a distinction in the nature of the reference. A great many initial stems define movement with reference to a particular direction; as, hither, thither, roundabout. Secondary stems, on the other hand, indicate movement; as, slow, swift, or as changing to rest. Secondary stems denoting space seem to lack extension in the sense they convey; as, top, cavity, line, and terms indicating parts of the body. Initial stems refer to space in a wide general sense; as, distance, dimension, immensity, totality.

Every stem is stamped with the quality of abstract meaning: the notion of some stems is so vague and so volatile, as they stand in detached form, as to seem almost void of tangible sense. Some stems

can be analyzed into elements that have at most the feeblest kind of sense; it is only as they stand in compound form that they take on a special meaning. It is not altogether clear how these stems, so vague and subtle as they stand alone, came to convey the sensuous notions that they do when thrown together into a group; how, for example, an initial stem introduces a general notion, and forms a group complete in statement but incomplete in sense, as when in composition it terminates with only a pronominal ending. Yet such a group can be of sufficiently frequent use as to become an idiom; in that case it takes on an added sense, which is due not so much perhaps to the inherent meaning of the combined stem and pronoun as to an acquired association with a particular activity. The psychological peculiarity of the process is more marked in the wider developments, as when initial and secondary stems combine for the larger groups. The components seem to stand toward each other in the position of qualifiers, the sense of one qualifying the sense of another with an effect of directing the meaning toward a particular direction. But, whatever be the influence at work, the result is a specialization of meaning, not only of the single member in the group, but of all the members as they stand together with reference to one another. The stems seem charged with a latent meaning which becomes evident only when they appear in certain relations: out of those relations they stand like empty symbols. It is important to emphasize the fact that the order of stems in a group is psychologically fixed. Some stems precede and others follow, not with a freedom of position and not in a haphazard manner, but with a consecutive sequence that is maintained from beginning to end with firm stability.

The following examples illustrate these principles of composition. A general summary of the process can thus be put in illustration:

pōni is an initial stem signifying NO MORE, NO LONGER: its original sense comes out best by adding the terminal animate pronoun, and making *pō'nīwa*. The group means that one has previously been engaged in an activity, and has now come into a state of cessation, making altogether a rather vague statement, as it stands unrelated to anything else. But travel has made a figure of speech of it, and so it has come to be the particular idiom for ONE CAMPS, ONE GOES INTO CAMP. So much for the simpler form of a combination.

An initial stem, *paq-*, has the general sense of STRIKING AGAINST SOMETHING; *-ā'kw-* is a secondary stem denoting RESISTANCE,

and so *pagā'kw-* is TO STRIKE AGAINST A RESISTANCE. The stem *-tun-* is a mobile secondary stem denoting the special notion of PLACE ABOUT A CAVITY, and has become a special term indicating THE PLACE ABOUT THE MOUTH; and so *pagā'kwitu'nā-* is TO STRIKE AGAINST A RESISTANCE AT A POINT ON THE MOUTH.

Again, *-cin-* is a secondary co-ordinative stem, and refers to change from motion to rest, but leaves the character and the duration of the change to be inferred from the implications of the stems that precede; furthermore, it indicates that the performer is animate, and serves as a link between the terminal pronoun and what precedes; and so *pagā'kwitu'nācin'nu^a* is a definite statement meaning that one strikes against a resistance and is brought for a time at least to a condition of rest. HE BUMPS HIMSELF ON THE MOUTH and HE BUMPS HIS MOUTH would be two ways of putting the same thing in English.

A rigid classification of the objective world into things animate and things inanimate underlies the whole structure of the language. Thus the terminal *-a* indicates an object possessing the combined qualities of life and motion, and the terminal *-i* designates an object without those attributes. Thus:

pyä'wa he comes; *pyä'migA'twi* it comes
i'neni'wa man, he is a man; *i'neni'wi* bravery, it has the quality
 of manhood
A'nemō''a dog; *a''ki* earth

Every verb and noun must fall in one or the other class. Forms ending in *-a* are termed ANIMATE, and those ending in *-i* INANIMATE. The distinction between the two opposing groups is not rigidly maintained, for often an object regularly inanimate is personified as having life, and so takes on an animate form. But permanent forms of lifeless objects having an animate ending can not always be explained by personification. The breaking-down of the contrast is best seen in the names of plants; logically they fall into the inanimate class, but many are used as animate forms, like *A'dāmi'n^a* CORN, *A'sāmā'w^a* TOBACCO, *me'cimi'n^a* APPLE.

The idea of plurality is expressed both in the noun and in the verb. Subjective and objective relation of the noun are distinguished by separate endings. A vocative and a locative case are also expressed.

In the pronoun the three persons of speaker, person addressed, and person spoken of, are distinguished, the last of these being divided into an animate and an inanimate form. Exclusive and inclusive plural

are expressed by distinct forms, the second of which is related to the second person. In the third person a variety of forms occur by means of which the introduction of a new subject, and identity of subject and of possessor of object (Latin *suus* and *ejus*), are distinguished.

The pronouns, subject and object, as they appear in transitive verbs, are expressed by single forms, which it is difficult to relate to the singular pronominal forms of the intransitive verb.

While tense is very slightly developed, the pronominal forms of different modes seem to be derived from entirely different sources in declarative, subjunctive, and potential forms of sentences. The discussion of these forms presents one of the most striking features of the Algonquian languages.

In the participial forms, the verbal stem is modified by change of its vowel.

Ideas of repetition, duration, distribution, are expressed by means of reduplication.

A number of formative affixes convey certain notions of manner, as—

-tug^e in *pyä'tug*^e HE PROBABLY CAME, which conveys the notion of doubt or uncertainty; while *-āpe*^e in *pyä'wāpe*^e HE IS IN THE HABIT OF COMING, expresses the frequency or repetition of an act

Formatives are also instrumental, not merely in the formation of nouns, but in giving to the nouns they form the quality of distinctive designation. Thus:

-mina in *a'dā-mi'n*^a CORN denotes FRUIT, GRAIN, BERRY; and *-gani* in *pā'skesig*^a *n*^s GUN (literally, exploder) is expressive of TOOL, IMPLEMENT, INSTRUMENT

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 15-54)

Composition (§§ 15-24)

Verbal Composition (§§ 15-21)

§ 15. TYPES OF STEMS

The verbs and nouns of the Fox language are almost throughout composed of a number of stems, the syntactic value of the complex being determined by a number of prefixes and suffixes. Setting aside

these, the component parts occur rarely, if at all, independently; and only some of those that appear in initial position in the verb are capable of independent use. In this respect they appear as more independent than the following component elements. On the other hand, the latter are so numerous that it seems rather artificial to designate them as suffixes of elements of the first group. There is so much freedom in the principles of composition; the significance of the component elements is such that they limit one another; and their number is so nearly equal,—that I have preferred to call them co-ordinate stems rather than stems and suffixes.

Accordingly I designate the component parts of words as—

1. Initial stems.
2. Secondary stems of the first order.
3. Secondary stems of the second order,
4. Co-ordinative stems.
5. Instrumental particles.

§ 16. INITIAL STEMS

Initial stems are capable at times of standing alone, with the office of adverbs. Some instances are—

u'tc' whence

i'c' hence

taɣw' together

Furthermore, an initial stem can enter into composition with **only** a formative, and express an independent statement, though not always with exact sense:

u'tc̄w^a one has come from some place

Two or more initial stems follow in a definite order:

wä'pusä'w^a he begins to walk (*wäpi-* to begin [initial stem]; *-usä-* to walk [secondary stem])

wä'pipyä'tusä'w^a he begins to approach on the walk (*pyä-* movement hither [initial stem between *wäpi-* and *-usä-*; *-t-* § 8])

wä'pipyätcitete'pusä'w^a he begins to approach walking in a circle (*tetep-* movement in a circle [new initial stem]); initial stem conveying the notion of movement in a circle

The consecutive order of initial stems with reference to a secondary stem depends much on the sort of notions they convey. An initial stem takes its place next to a secondary stem because the notion it

implies is of such a nature as to combine easily with the notion of a secondary stem to form an added sense of something more definite and restricted. It is as if both initial and secondary stems were modifiers of each other. An initial stem coming before another initial stem in combination with a secondary stem stands toward the group in much the same relation as if the group were a simple secondary stem. The place of an initial stem is at the point where the idea it expresses falls in most appropriately with the mental process of restricting and making more definite the sense of the whole group.

[Before proceeding to the examples of initial stems, it seems to me important to point out that a large proportion of them terminate in *i*. Thus *awi-* TO BE; *āpi-* TO UNTIE; *agwi-* TO COVER; *anemi-* YON WAY; *api-* TO SIT; *cawi-* TO DO; *hanemi-* TO CONTINUE TO; *kaski-* ABILITY; *kīci-* COMPLETION; *kīwi-* (an extended form of *kī*) MOVEMENT IN AN INDEFINITE DIRECTION; *mā'kwi-* FUTUERE; *mātcī-* TO MOVE; *māwi-* TO GO TO; *meci-* LARGENESS; *nagi-* TO HALT; *pemi-* MOVEMENT FAST; *pyātcī-* (an extended form of *pyā*) MOVEMENT HITHER; etc. It is therefore likely that this *i* is a morphological element. But it would require a comparison with other Algonquian languages to determine its precise value. It may be added that *-i* also occurs with the function of *-i*, and that the two sometimes interchange. Apparently this *-i* always drops out before vowels.—T. M.]

Following is a selection of examples of initial stems which are quite numerous and express ideas of great variety:

aski- early, soon, first.

ā'a'skime'pug when it had first snowed 70.10 (*ā-* temporal augment; *me-* initial stem common with words for SNOW, ICE, COLD; *me'pu-* to snow; *-g* for *-gi* suffix with a location sense; *-i* lost before initial vowel of following word)

āhaskānwīg^t while the snow was first on 70.10 (*ā-* as above; *h* glide; *-i* of *aski-* lost before vowel; *-ānw-* secondary stem, denoting STATE, CONDITION; *-gi* as above)

cā- freedom of movement, passage without friction or impediment.

cā'pawāw^a he cries out sending his voice through space

cāpu'nīgΛ'n^t a needle (literally, an instrument for piercing through with ease)

cōsk- is used in several ways. In a special sense it denotes HORIZONTALITY, STRAIGHTNESS.

cō'skā'kusā'w^a he walks erect [*-usä* §19]

cōskā'pyāci'nw^a he lies at full length (-cin- secondary connective stem [§ 20]; -w^a [§ 28])

cō'skāpyā'wⁱ is it straight (-wⁱ § 28)

Another sense, closely related to STRAIGHTNESS, is that of SMOOTHNESS, LACK OF FRICTION, EASE OF MOVEMENT.

cō'skwāwⁱ it is smooth, slippery

cō'skwici'nw^a he slips and falls

cō'skonā'w^a he slips hold of him

ācōskonātc he slips hold of him 182.11

hanemi to continue to.

āhanemipyānātcⁱ he continued to fetch them home 38.6 (ā- as above; pyā- initial stem meaning MOVEMENT HITHER; -n- intervocalic, instrumental [see § 21]; -ā- objective pronominal element; -tcⁱ 3d person singular subject; the form is an aorist transitive conjunctive [see § 29])

āhaneminesātcⁱ he continued to kill 38.5 (ā- as above; -nes- initial stem TO KILL; -ā- objective pronoun; tcⁱ 3d person singular subject)

wīhanemicimesānetamuwātc they will continue to derive benefit from them 376.10 (wī —amuwātc [§ 29])

āhanemūmeguwātcⁱ they kept riding 192.7

āhanemāmūwātcⁱ they continued to fly for their lives (-ā- [§ 19]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -u- [§ 40]; ā—wātcⁱ [§ 29])

āhanemi'a'gōsīpahōmī'ga'kⁱ he continued to climb up hurriedly 96.19

āhanemitetepetcāsānītcⁱ he continued to whirl over and over 288.14 (tetepe- [for tetepi-] allied with tetep- BELOW; -tc- [§8]; -āsā- from -āsā- [= -isā §19]; -nītcⁱ [§34])

pācāhanemine'kwā'taminītc gradually the sound grew faint 348.22

āhanemiwāpusāwātcⁱ then they continued to start off on a walk 108.8 (ā- as above; .wāpi- initial stem, meaning TO BEGIN, loses terminal i before vowel; -usā- secondary stem of second order, meaning LOCOMOTION BY LAND WITH REFERENCE TO FOOT AND LEG [§19]; -wātcⁱ 3d person plural animate subject; the form is an aorist intransitive conjunctive [see § 29])

kAsk(i)- implies potency, ability, efficiency, and gets the meaning of SUCCESS, TRIUMPH, MASTERY.

ka'skihā'w^a he succeeds in buying him (-āw^a [§ 28])

ka'skimenō'w^a he is able to drink

ka'skini'mānā'mw^a he can lift it (-amw^a [§ 28])

ka'skimā'w^a he succeeds in persuading him (-m- [§ 21.6]; -āw^a transitive independent mode, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person animate object [see § 28])

kā'skināwā'w^a he can see him (-*nāw*- to see, cf. *ānāwātē* then [the man] saw 174.13; *ā'pwāwināwugutē* but he was not seen 158.1; *ānāwāwātēcāpē* they would see habitually 182.14)

ā'pwāwikaskimadanetē on account of not being able to overtake him 168.12

ā'pōnikāske'tawāwātē they could no longer hear their calls 192.6

kās(ī)- denotes the idea of obliteration, erasure, wiping.

kā'sīhā'mw^a he erases it (-*h*- instrumental [§ 21]; -*amw^a* transitive aorist, independent mode, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person inanimate object [§ 28])

kāsī'gwāhōw^a he wipes his own face

kāsī'gāci'nw^a he wipes his own foot

kī- indicates the general notion of indefinite movement round about, here and there.

kīweskāwagāpē they are always off on a journey 272.14 (for *kīwe*- see § 17 end; -*wag*- for -*wag^t* 3d person plural animate, intransitive aorist, independent mode [§ 28]; -*āpē* frequency of an act [§ 14 end])

kī'wisā'w^a it (a bird) flies round about (-*isā*- [§ 19])

kī'witcimā'w^a he swims round about (-*tcim*- [§ 19])

kī'weskā'w^a he goes a-journeying somewhere

kī'wāmō'w^a he sought safety here and there (-*ā*- [§ 19]; -*m*- [§§ 21, 37]; -*ō*- [§ 40]; -*w^a* [§ 28])

kīwā'bāmā'w^a he went about looking at one and then another (*wābā* same as *wāpā* in *kīmāwiwāpātāpen^a* LET US GO AND LOOK AT IT 284.8 [*māwi*- below; *kī*-*āpenā*, § 28]; *ā'kīcītāgiwāpāmātē* and after looking for all [his ducks] 286.16 [*kīci*- p. 766; *tcāgi* p. 771; *ā*-*ātē* § 29; -*m*- § 21.6])

kī'c(i)- expresses the completion, the fulfillment, of an act.

kī'cāwī'w^a he has finished (a task, an undertaking)

kī'cetā'w^t it is done cooking (*tā*- secondary connective stem, inanimate, signifying HEAT [§ 20]; -*w^t* [§ 28])

kī'ci'tō'w^a he has finished making it

kī'cipyā'w^a he has already arrived (*pyā*- [§ 16])

kī'cinēpōhī'w^a he has since died

kīcīketēcīpē'tawāwātē after they had built a great fire 158.21 (-*wātē* [§ 29])

kīcīkīgānūtē after the feast is done 156.6

kīcītāgi'pyā'nītē after their arrival 90.13 (*tcāgi* all; *pyā*- to come; -*nītē* [§ 34])

kīcītāgīketemīnāgūtē after he had been blessed by them 184.4 (-*gu*- [§ 41])

kicinȳä'o'gunipwāwisenitc' four days had passed since he had eaten 182.3 (for *nyä'o'* cf. *nyāw'* 4 [§ 50]; *pwā* for *pyāwi* NOT [§ 12]; *-wiseni* EAT; *-tci* [§ 29])

ä'kicitāgātāmōwāt' after they have touched and tasted it 184.17 (*ä—āmōwāt'* same as *ä—āmowātci* [§ 29])

kicipȳātōmāt' after she had fetched home her burden 162.16 (*pyä-* initial stem MOVEMENT HITHER; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; *-ō-* secondary stem expressing CONVEYANCE; *-ā-* pronominal animate object; *-t'* 3d person singular animate [§ 29])

kōg- refers to an activity with a fluid, most often with water, in which instance is derived the idea of washing.

kōg'e'nigā'w^a she is at work washing clothes (*-gä-* [§ 20])

kōg'i'netcā'w^a he washes his own hands

kōgenā'w^a he washes him

kōg'ige'nānō'w^a he washes his own forehead

kō'g'w^a he mires (in the mud)

ä'kōgenāt' when he bathed her 300.15 (*-n-* instrumental; cf. also § 8; *ä—āt'* [§ 29])

nā'kākōgenag' she also washed it 178.21 (for *nāk^a* *äkōgenag'*; *ä—ag'* [§ 29])

kīwigāt'cikōgenāw^a you are to clean it (the dog) well with water 178.15 (*kī—āw^a* [§ 28])

māwi- to go to.

kīmāwiciā'pen^a let us go and hunt 90.9 (*cīcā* initial stem TO HUNT; *kī—pen^a* we inclusive, future independent mode, intransitive, used as a mild imperative [see §§ 28, 35.8])

kīmāwinepāpen^a let us go and spend the night 90.10

āmāwinepāwāt' they went to a place where they spent the night 30.5 (*ä—wāt'* [§ 29])

āmāwi'ketahwāt' she went to dig for them 152.19 (*-hw-* [§ 37]; *ä—āt'* [§ 29])

āmāwiga'kenaminic' they started off to peel bark 150.15 (*-nit'* [§ 34])

āmāwiket'it' he went to look over the bank 182.9

āmāwiwāpāmāt' he went to have a look 182.7 (*ä-* temporal particle; *wāpā-* same as *wābā* cited under *kī-*; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-āt'* for *-āt'* transitive aorist conjunctive, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person animate object [§ 29])

āmāwinānāt' he ran to catch him 182.11 (*nā-* presumably the same as *nā-* [§ 21.8]; *-n-* [see § 21])

me- snow, ice, cold.

ä'a'skime'pug when it had first snowed 70.10 (explained under *aski-*)

mī'k- conveys the sense of occupation, employment in the performance of some activity.

mī'ke'tcūwī'w^a he works, is busy

mī'ket^a'mw^a he is occupied with a piece of work (-t- [§ 21]; -amw^a [§ 28])

mī'keme''kwāwā'w^a he goes a-wooing ('kwā [§ 18]; -w- [§ 37])

mī'ke'tcihā'w^a he is engaged in an attempt to heal him

mī'kwā'nemā'w^a she dotes upon it—her child

nAg(i)- denotes the change from an activity to a rest, and is best translated by words like HALT, STOP, PAUSE.

nA'gīw^a he stops moving

nagici'nw^a he halts on the journey (-cin- [§ 20])

nA'gipahō'w^a he stops running (-pahō- secondary stem meaning RAPID MOTION [§ 19]; -w^a intransitive aorist, independent mode, 3d person animate subject [§ 28])

tcāgānagigāpāwāt^t they all came to a halt 50.24 (for tcāgi [ALL] ā-; -gāpā- [§ 19]; ā-wāt^t [§ 29])

ānagiwāt^c they stood 50.7 (aorist intransitive conjunctive [§ 29])

nāgA- to follow after.

āpītcināganāt^t when he went in following after it 70.13 (pīt- initial stem meaning MOVEMENT INTO AN ENCLOSURE; pītcī a collateral form [see below]; -n- intervocalic instrumental; -ā- pronominal object; -t^t 3d person singular animate subject)

ānāgata^g and he followed it (ā- as before; -t- intervocalic element indicating that the object is inanimate, here simply that the verb is transitive; -ag^t 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person singular inanimate object [§ 29])

pAs(i)- implies the notion of SWIFT, LIVELY CONTACT.

pA'sitī'yā'hvā'w^a she spansks him

pA'sī'gwā'hvā'w^a he slaps him in the face

pA'sigu'mā'hvā'w^a he barely grazes his nose (-gum- [§ 17])

pasimyā'sō'w^a it (an animate subject) fries (-sū- [§ 20])

pA'setā'w^t it is hot (-tā- [§ 20]; -w^t [§ 28])

pe'kwī- density, thickness.

ā'pe'kwisasaka'k^t when it was thick with growth 70.12

pem(t)- expresses the notion of MOVEMENT BY, PAST, ALONGSIDE.

pe'me'kā'w^a he passes by 278.1 (-'kā- [§ 20])

pe'megā'w^a he dances by 280.5 (-egā- secondary stem of second order, meaning MOVEMENT OF ONE IN DANCING [§ 19]; -w^a 3d person singular animate, independent mode)

pe'mināgā'w^a he passes by a-singing

pe'mipahō'w^a he passes by on the run (-pahō- secondary stem of second order, denoting SPEED [§ 19])

pe'mūtā'w^a he crawls past (-ūtā-, -ōtā- to crawl [§ 19])

ä'pemitēpikīckahugunītcⁱ they went swimming by side by side 184.3 (-hugu- same as -hogō- [§ 19]; -nītcⁱ [§ 34])

pemisāw^a it [the swan] went flying past 80.7 (-isā- secondary stem of second order, expressing VELOCITY and associated with MOTION THROUGH THE AIR [§ 19])

It comes to have the force of an inchoative.

pe'musā'w^a he started off on a walk (-usā- secondary stem TO WALK [§ 19])

pe'mwāgesi'w^a she began to wail

ä'pemiwāpusātcⁱ then he started to begin to walk 194.19 (ä- and -tcⁱ explained before; -wāp- for -wāpi- INCEPTION [§ 16]; -usā- secondary stem of second order, TO WALK [§ 19])

pyä- signifies MOVEMENT HITHERWARD.

pyä'w^a he comes

pyä'taci'w^a he fetches home game

pyāte''kwāwā'w^a he brings home a wife (-'kwā- woman [§ 18]; -w- [§ 37])

pyä'tāskā'wⁱ it falls this way

pyä'tcine''kawā'w^a he comes driving them home (for pyātcī- cf. pītcī- under pīt-; -ne'ka- [§ 19]; -āw^a [§ 28])

pyä'twāwā'migatwⁱ it comes a-roaring (pyāt- collateral with pyä-; wāwā [§ 20]; ämigatwⁱ [§ 20]; -wⁱ [§ 28])

pyānāw^a he has brought home 58.5 (-n- intervocalic; -ä- 3d person singular animate object; -w^a as before)

ä'pyātcⁱ when he had come 68.25 (ä—tcⁱ [§ 29])

pī(t)- conveys the sense of movement into an enclosure.

pī'tāse'nwⁱ it blows inside (-ā- [§ 19]; -sen- [§ 20]; -wⁱ [§ 28])

pī'tciwenā'w^a he leads him within

pī'ta'hwā'w^a he buries him (-hw- [§ 21]; -āw^a [§ 28])

pī'tigā'w^a he enters

ä'pītcī'kawānītc they trailed (a bear into woods) 70.12

ä'pītigātc as he entered 326.10 (-gā- [§ 20]; ä—tc [=tcⁱ § 29])

ä'pītigānātc then he took her inside 42.20 [-gā- variant of gā; -n- instrumental [§ 21]; ä—ātcⁱ [§ 29])

pītcisāwag there came running into 142.10 (-isā- as in pemisāw^a; -uag for -wagⁱ 3d person plural animate, intransitive independent mode [§ 28])

pōn(i)- also expresses the notion of CESSATION, but with more of the idea of the negative temporal element NO MORE, NO LONGER.

pō'negä'w^a he is no longer dancing (-egä- as before, p. 768)

pōne'nägä'w^a he has ceased singing

pōne'senyä'w^a he has done eating

pō'nepyä'w^a he is no longer a drunkard

pō'nimä'w^a he has stopped talking to him (-m- [§ 21])

ä'pōninūtawāwāt^c they stopped hearing the sound 152.1

ägwi'pōni'kägūwāt^cin^t never shall they be left alone 186.2 (ägwi—
n^t not [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41]; -wāt^ci [§ 29])

ä'pōnīwāt^c they halted 164.13, 192.9

sāg(i)- implies the notion of EXPOSURE, MANIFESTATION, VISIBILITY.

sā'gise'nw^t it sticks out (-sen- [§ 20]; -w^t [§ 28])

sā'gitepāci'nw^a he lies covered all over except at the head (-cin- [§ 20]; tepä head; -w^a [§ 28])

sā'giwinä'gāpā'w^a but for the tips of his horns, he stands shut off from view. [As winä- is a secondary stem of the first order [§ 18] used to designate a HORN, and -gāpā- is a secondary stem of the second order [§ 19] expressing PERPENDICULARITY, the literal translation would seem to be HE STANDS WITH HIS HORNS EXPOSED.—T. M.]

sā'gitepā'hogō'w^a he floats with the head only out of the water (-hogō- [§ 19])

sā'gikumä'w^a he exposes his nose to view (-kum- same as -gum- [§ 18])

sag(i)- has a transitive force with the meaning of SEIZING HOLD.

sagecänä'w^a he holds him by the ear (-cä- ear [§ 18]; -n- instrumental [§ 21])

sagine''känä'w^a he leads him by the hand (-ne'ka- [§ 19]; -n- [§ 21])

sagi'pwä'w^a he bites hold of him (-pw- [§ 21])

sagāne''kwänä'w^a he grabs hold of him by the hair (-'kwä- head [§ 18])

ä'pe'kwisasaka'k^t when it was thick with growth 70.12; (ä—'k^t [§ 29])

äsagine'känāt^c he then held her by the hand 134.13 (-n- [§ 21];

ä—āt^c [= -āt^c § 29]; -ne'kä- as in äsagine'kāsāt^c 214.10)

äsagikänāt^c she grabbed hold of one by the leg 292.2

tā(wi)- has to do with the sensation of physical pain.

tā'wite'pāci'nw^a he fell and hurt his head (tepä- head; -cin- [§ 20]; -w^a [§ 28])

tä'witana'sitügāpā'w^a it hurts his feet to stand (-gāpā- [§ 19])

tä'we'kwā'w^a his head aches (-'kwā- head [§ 18])

tcāgi all, entirely.

tcāgiketenagⁱ she took off all 224.1 (n- [§ 21]; ä- left out [§ 12];
ä—agⁱ [§ 29])

kīcitcāgipyānītcⁱ after all had arrived 90.13 (kīci- and pyā- initial
stems [§ 16]; -nītcⁱ for -nītcⁱ 3d person plural, animate [§ 34])

īnā'tcāgipyānītcⁱ thus all had arrived 172.20 (īnā- thus)

kīcitcāgiketemināgutcⁱ after he had been blessed by all 184.5 (kīci
completion; gu [§ 41]; ä-omitted; -tcⁱ [§ 29])

ä'tcāgesutcⁱ then he was burnt all up 30.3 (sū- secondary stem
meaning HEAT, animate [§ 20])

ä'tcāgihāwāt^c they slew them all 8.16, 10.2 (-h- [§ 21]; ä—āwāt^c
[§ 29])

tetep- movement in a circle.

ätetepetcāsa'tōtcⁱ he started himself a-rolling 288.13

tetepusān^u walk around in a circle 376.12 (see 158.1) (-usā- sec-
ondary stem of second order, meaning TO WALK [§ 19]; -n^u
2d person singular imperative, intransitive [§ 31])

āwāpitetepusāt^c he began to walk around in a circle 256.9 (wāpi-
see next stem)

wāp(i)- signifies the idea of COMMENCEMENT, INCEPTION, INCHOATION.

wāpina'husā'w^a he is beginning to know how to walk (nah to know)

wāpikē'miyā'w^a the rain is beginning to fall

wā'piwī'senī'w^a he is starting to eat (compare nīwisenⁱ do let me
eat 184.10)

āwāpā'kwamatagⁱ he became sick 156.9

wīwāpimatcaiyāwicimegowāt^c they shall begin to have to put up
with their insolence 184.18 (wī—wāt^c [§ 29])

āwāpusāt^c he started off on a walk 126.3, 23; 278.8; 280.2
(-usā- [§ 19]; ä—tcⁱ [§ 29])

utci- whence, away from.

wātcikesiyāgīcisāwā whence the cold came, then he speeds to 70.14
(change of vowel u to wā on account of participial form;
analyzed in note 21, p. 869).

utciwāpⁱ from this time on 34.14 (literally, beginning whence;
wāpi- see preceding stem)

wī- expresses the sense of ACCOMPANIMENT, ASSOCIATION, COMPANION-
SHIP.

wī'dāmā'w^a he accompanies him (-d- for -t-; see below)

wī'tcāwā'w^a he goes along, too

wī'pāmā'w^a he sleeps with him

wī'pumā'w^a he eats with him (*pu-* [§ 21]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; *-äw^a* [§ 28])

wī'kumā'w^a he invites him to the feast

wītāmātcinⁱ him whom he accompanied 70.14 (see text at end)

wī'pumīn^u eat thou with me 266.19 (*pu-* act done with mouth [§ 21]; *-m-* indicates animate object [§§ 21, 37]; *-in^u* imperative, 2d person singular subject, 1st person singular object [§ 31])

pep- winter, snow, cold.

ä'pepōgⁱ in the winter-time 150.5 (ä'pepōg 70.10; 136.3 is the same form with elision of final vowel before initial vowel [see text at end; also §§ 12, 42])

As¹ the small number of initial stems given by Dr. Jones seems to me to be rather out of proportion to their importance, I take the liberty of inserting here a hundred odd new examples taken from his Fox Texts, arranged in the order of the English alphabet. For this purpose *a*, *ā*, *ɐ*, *ä*, *ā*, follow each other in this order. I would remind the reader that there is considerable fluctuation in these vowels, especially between *a* and *ɐ*; *ā* and *ɐ*. The variation of *a* and *ä* is slight; that of *ā* and *ä* does not seem to occur. The sound pronounced was undoubtedly the same in any given fluctuation; Dr. Jones simply has recorded the sounds as he heard them at a given time. Examples follow:

a'tetcā- distant.

ä'a'te'tcikiweskātcⁱ he went on a distant journey 74.5 (*ä—tcⁱ* [§ 29]; *kīwe-* [§ 17], allied to *kīwi-* [see under *kī-* above]; *-sk-* [§ 21]; *-ā-* [§ 19])

a'tetcāhāt^c she went far away 38.1 (*ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *ä—tcⁱ* [§ 29]; *hā-* from *hā-* an initial stem meaning TO GO)

ä'te'tcāwīgīwāt^c they lived far away 160.14 (*ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *wīgī* is an initial stem, TO DWELL)

awi- to be.

awīnit^c they were 50.18 (*ä-* lost [§ 12]; *-ni-* [§ 34]; hence *-tcⁱ* [§ 29] may be used for a plural)

äwītīgⁱ they who were 358.8 (participial; *-tcīgⁱ* [§ 33])

äwīyānⁱ where I am 366.2 (for *ä-äwīyānⁱ*; *ä—yānⁱ* [§ 29])

āmī- to move.

nā'kāhāmīwāt^c again they moved on 166.12 (for *nāk^a ä-* [§ 10]; *-h-* a glide [§ 8]; *ä—wāt^c* [§ 29])

¹ From here to p. 793, addition by T. Michelson.

āpi to untie.

āpinahamw^a she unties it 162.2 (-amw^a [§ 28])

āpinahamwāpe^e she always unties it 162.3 (for -amw^a ā- [§ 10]; -āpe^e [§ 14])

āhāpihag then he untied it 334.16 (for ā—agⁱ [§ 29]; -ⁱ lost before an initial vowel [§ 10]; -h- first time a glide [§ 8]; second time instrumental [§ 21])

See also 160.19; 170.4; 172.10, 14; 290.22, 25; 292.5

āwA- to carry away.

āwanāwagⁱ they were carrying them away 198.5 (-n- [§ 21]; -āwagⁱ [§ 28])

āhāwanetcⁱ then they were carried away 26.3 (ā—etcⁱ [§ 41]; -h- a glide [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

āwāpi-ā-watōwāt^c they set to work carrying it 212.21 (ā—wāt^c [§ 29]; -ⁱ lost by contraction [§ 10]; wāpi- an initial stem, TO BEGIN; -tō- [§ 37])

wīhawatōyān^e I would have taken it with me 230.12 (for wī- with the subjunctive see my note [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8]; -tō- [§ 37]; -yān^e [§ 29])

āhawanāt^c she took him 38.2 (for ā—āt^c [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -n- [§ 21])

See also 162.15; 164.7, 8, 9; 166.1; 224.18; 230.12; 246.24; 348.9, etc.

Agōsī- to climb.

wīhagōsīyānⁱ I shall have to do the climbing 90.19 (wī—yānⁱ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8])

āhagōsīt^c he climbed up 94.16 (for ā—t^c [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8])

See also 96.19; 274.24

AcAm- to give to eat.

AcAmi give it to him to eat 252.1 (-i [§ 31])

ā-A-camegut^c then he was given food to eat 70.2 (for ā—t^c [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

See also 14.19; 106.1; 256.12

Agwi- to cover.

agwihe'k^u cover him up 294.18 (-h- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -'k^u [§ 31])

wīhagwitcinⁱ for him to cover himself with 294.21 (evidently a participial; see § 34 near the end; -h- is a glide [§ 8]; wī- is irregular, as is its use with the subjunctive; see my note to § 29)

Amw- to eat.

amwitā he that eats me 272.19; 274.3, 7, 12 (for -ita [§ 33])

ä·amwātē then he ate him 274.15 (*ä—ātē* [§ 29])

wīhamwāgetē we (excl.) shall eat him 58.11 (*wī—āgetē* [§ 29];
-*h-* [§ 8])

kādāmwī'kanē don't eat me 96.4 (for *kātā* *ā-*; -*i'kanē* [§ 30])

See also 26.10; 58.24; 96.10, 11, 17; 166.3; 266.20; 274.5;
330.22

Anemi- yon way.

anemicāg^a go ahead and hunt for game 294.8 (*cīcā-* from *cīcā-*
to hunt for game; -*g^a* [§ 31])

āhanemāpitē there he sat down 352.24 (*ä—tē* [§ 29]; *anem-* for
anemi- [§ 10]; *api-* is an initial stem, TO SIT; -*h-* [§ 8])

Api- to sit.

wīhapitē he shall sit 16.18 (*wī—tē* [§ 29]; -*h-* [§ 8])

nemenwāpⁱ I am content to sit down 370.12 (*ne-* [§ 28]; *menw-*
is an initial stem denoting PLEASURE)

hapitē let him be seated 370.11 (*h-* is glide [§ 8] after a final
vowel; -*tē* [§ 31])

ātcītābitē he sat down 172.15 (*ä—tē* [§ 29]; for confusion of *b*
and *p* see § 3)

See also 370.7, 8, 9; 316.16

Askwi- to save.

ä·askwinesātē he saved them from killing 8.12 (*ä—ātē* [§ 29]; *nes-*
is an initial stem, TO KILL)

askunāmānē I saved it (for *ä·askunāmānē*; *ä—āmānē* [§ 29]; -*u-*
for -*wi-* [§ 12]; -*n-* [§ 21])

cāgw- to be unwilling.

ācāgwānemutē he was unwilling 24.22 (*ä—tē* [§ 29]; -*āne-* [§ 19];
-*m-* [§§ 21, 37]; -*u-* [§ 40])

cāgwānemōw^a she was unwilling 170.1 (-*ō-* [§ 40]; -*w^a* [§ 28])

See also 14.4; 34.10; 144.11

cawī- to do.

cawiw^a he is doing 288.15 (-*w^a* [§ 28])

ācawīnitē he was doing 322.1 (*ä—nitē* [§ 34])

ācawīgwānē what he did 342.4, 5, 8, 10 (*ä—gwānē* [§ 32]; my trans-
lation is literal)

See also 16.16; 24.20; 66.7; 76.5, 7; 250.7, 9; 280.8, 11;
356.16

cīcā- to hunt for game.

pyātcīcīcāw^a he comes hitherward hunting for game 92.7 (*pyātcī-*
is an extended form of *pyā-*, an initial stem denoting MOTION
HITHERWARD; -*w^a* [§ 28])

cīcāg^u go seek for game 296.2 (*cīcā-* for *cīcā-*, as *pyā-g^u* COME YE for *pyā-*; -*g^u* [§ 31])

cīcāt^a he that was hunting for game 38.8 (-*t^a* [§ 33])

See also 38.14; 78.15

cīm to tell.

ācimegwāt^c what they were told 356.14 (*ā—wāt^c* [§ 29]; -*e-* [§ 8]; -*gu-* [§ 41])

ācimegūt^c what he was told 358.22 (*ā—t^c* [§ 29])

hā to go.

wīhāw^{Ag} they shall go 338.10 (*wī-* [§ 28]; -*w^{Ag}* [§ 28])

kīh^a thou wilt go 284.21 (*kī-* [§ 28])

wīhāmīgāt^w it will start 224.4 (*wī—w^t* [§ 28]; -*mīgāt-* [§ 20])

kīhāpw^a you will go 20.20 (*kī—pw^a* [§ 28]; -*ā-* for -*ā-*, as in *kī^tpyāpw^a* you will come 20.16)

See also 22.18; 122.11, 18; 170.20; 338.9, 10, 13; 356.15, 17

hawī- to dwell, to be (not the copula).

hawīw^a she is 108.6 (-*w^a* [§ 28])

āhawīt^c she remained 10.14 (*ā—t^c* [§ 29])

āhawīt^c he was 10.18

hawīk^u remain ye 48.23 (-*k^u* for -*g^u* [§ 3]; -*g^u* [§ 31])

See also 12.19; 22.20, 21; 68.9

hī- to speak (to).

hīw^a he says 26.12, 14 (-*w^a* [§ 28])

āhīt^c he said 26.19, 20, 21 (*ā—t^c* [§ 29])

āhinēt^c he was told 26.11 (*ā—ēt^c* [§ 41]; -*n-* [§ 21])

āhināt^c he said to them 10.6 (*ā—āt^c* [§ 29]; -*n-* [§ 21])

See also 8.7, 11, 14, 18; 10.22; 14.6; 16.4; 96.8; 110.9; 216.6; 218.2

i- to say.

kaciw^a what does he say 242.15 (for *kacⁱ iw^a* [§ 10]; -*w^a* [§ 28])

ici- thus.

wīⁱcīnāgusīnīt^c she wished to look thus 104.4 (*wī—nīt^c* [§ 29]; -*nāgu-* [§ 18]; -*si-* [§ 20])

āⁱcītāhāt^c thus she thought in her heart 102.1 (*ā—t^c* [§ 29]; *ic-* for *ici-* [§ 10]; -*itā-* [§ 18]; -*hā-* [§ 20])

kātu- sorrow.

āⁱkātusīgān^t I felt grieved 158.8 (*ā—yān^t* [§ 29]; -*si-* [§ 20])

kāwA- to crunch.

āⁱkākāwāt^{Ag} he crunched it 124.9 (for *ā—Ag^t* [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -*kā-* reduplication [§ 25]; -*t-* [§ 21])

ōnā'kākawamegwi^{tc} then it [the possessed object, i. e., his head] crunched and ate him up 96.8 (for *ōn'* *ā-* [§ 10]; *ā—tc*ⁱ [§ 29]; *-kā-* [§ 25]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e* [§ 8]; *-gwi-* [§ 34])

ā'kā'kāwatamowāt^c then they crunched them (the bones) up 296.5 (*ā—amowāt*^c [§ 29]; *-t-* [§ 21]; *-kā-* [§ 25])

See also 124.4, 15; 294.10

kan- to speak.

kanawin^u speak thou 180.4 (*-wi-* [§ 20]; *-n*^u [§ 31])

*ā'kanōnetc*ⁱ he was addressed 8.5 (*ā—etc*ⁱ [§ 41])

See also 174.11, 13; 176.2, 20, 23; 180.6, 7, 11

ke'k- to know, find out.

wīke'kānemāt^c he desired to find out concerning her 46.9 (for *wī—āt*^c [§§ 10, 29]; *-āne-* [§ 19]; *-m-* [§ 21])

āgwi ke'kānemagin I did not know concerning him 160.8 (*āgwi* not; *-agi* [§ 29]; *-n* for *-ni* [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; *ā-* omitted [§ 29])

āhanemike'kahwāt^c he continued to find them out 298.15 (literal translation; for *ā—āt*^c [§§ 10, 29]; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-hw-* [§ 21]; *hanemi-* an initial stem meaning TO CONTINUE TO)

See also 166.8, 9; 298.15; 326.20, 21; 328.1, 6, 7, 7, 8, 13, 15; 342.3, 7, 10, 15, 16; etc.

kep- to enclose.

*ā'kepetunānānitc*ⁱ she would close his mouth with her hand 324.9 (*ā—ānitc*ⁱ [§ 34]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-tun-* [§ 18]; *-ā* as *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

ā'kepōgwāt^{ag} after he had closed it by stitching it with cord 288.13, 18 (for *ā—ag*^t [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; *-t-* [§ 21])

See also 138.12; 142.7; 290.9; 332.10

ke'tci- intensity.

ā'ke'tcipenut^c he went at top speed 168.5 (for *ā—tc*ⁱ [§§ 10, 29]; *penu-* is an initial stem, TO GO)

*ā'ke'tcimaiyōtc*ⁱ she then began to wail with sore distress 170.20 (*ā—tc*ⁱ [§ 29]; *maiyo-* is an initial stem meaning TO WAIL)

See also 186.8; 188.17; 200.5; 284.19; 310.22; 314.11

kīck(i)- to cut off.

ā'kīckīckēcācwātēpē'^e from them he would cut off both ears 8.13 (for *-tc*ⁱ *āpē'*^e [§ 10]; *ā—āt*^c [§ 29]; *-āpē'*^e [§ 14]; *-kīc-* [§ 25]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-cā-* [§ 18]; *-cw-* [§ 21])

nākākīckīgumācwātēpē'^e and he would cut off their noses 8.13 (for *nāk^a ā-* [§ 10]; *nāk^a* again, and; *-gum-* [§ 18]; *-ā-* same as *-e-* [§ 8]; the rest as above)

See also 8.17, 18; 10.4, 5

kīm- to feel gently.

ä'kīmenātc then he let his hand steal softly over her 322.21 (for ä—ātc' [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])
 wīkīmenāt^e wishing to pass his hand gently over her, he began to feel her 326.5 (-āt^e [§ 29]; for the use of wī- with the subjunctive see my note to §29)

kīnī- to sharpen.

wīkīnīhāw^a he shall sharpen it (a moose-antler in a sacred bundle; hence animate) 106.15 (a future form of a transitive 3d person subject with 3d person object; wī—āw^a see my note [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])
 kī'kīnīhāw^a you shall sharpen him (it) 108.2 (kī—āw^a [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])
 ä'kīnīhāt^c then he sharpened him 108.3 (ä—ātc' [§ 29])
 wāsīkīnikumāyāg^t made sharp at the point 356.13 (-kum- same as -gum- [§ 18])

kīp- to fall.

ä'kīpīsānīt^c then they fell through the air 332.4, 5 (ä—nīt^c [§ 34]; -isā- from -isā- [§ 19])

kīsk- to cut up.

ä'kīskēcut^c then he was cut up 166.3 (ä—ut^c [§ 41]; -e- [§ 8]; -c- [§ 21])
 kīskēcamw^a he cut it off (amw^a [§ 28])

kīwū- to turn back.

kīwātāwē^t let us go back 72.3 (-tāwē^t [§ 6] for -tāwe [§ 31])
 ä'kīwāt^c then he turned back 94.4 (ä—t^c [§ 29])
 ä'pēmīkīwāt^c so he started to turn back 210.1 (for ä—t^c by contraction [§ 10]; pēmi- [§ 16])
 kīwānū go back 208.15 (prolongation of -nu [§ 31])
 See also 166.9, 22

ku- to fear.

kusegw^a he was feared 56.14 (-s- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gw^a [§ 41])
 ku'tamw^a he feared it 214.20 (-t- [§ 21]; -amw^a [§ 28])
 See also 120.8; 190.21; 214.1; 284.20

kut- to feel of.

ä'kūtenāt^c then he felt of her 46.9 (ä—ātc' [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

maiγō-, maiyu- to weep.

maiγamaiγōhāw^a it was common for him to make them cry 16.9 (maiγa- [§ 25]; -h- [§ 21]; -āw^a [§ 28])

äwäpimaiyutc' then he began to weep 330.14 (*ä—tc'* [§ 29]; *wäpi-* [§ 16])

See also 12.13; 110.16

mā'kwit- futuere.

ämā'kwitc' then he went into her 322.21

See also 56.17; 312.18, 24; 322.23; 324.7, 8, 16, 17

mānā- multitude.

mānāwag' many 40.1

äwäpimānāwāt' they began to be numerous 52.9 (*ä—wāt'* [§ 29]; *wäpi-* to begin [§ 16])

See also 52.1; 54.1, 18

mātu-, mātō- to plead.

ämāmātomeguwāt' then they began to be entreated 152.10 (for *ä—wāt'* [§§ 12, 29]; *mā-* [§ 25]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41])

ämāmātomegut' then he began to be plead with 162.12 (for *ä—tc'* [§§ 10, 29])

ämāmātumegut' he was entreated 184.10

mā- futuere.

nepyätcimanāw^a I have come to have sexual intercourse with her 44.24 (*ne—āw^a* [§ 28]; *pyätc-* an extended form of *pyä-* MOTION HITHERWARD [§ 16])

ähānemimanāt' then he went first into one and then into another 56.14 (*ä—āt'* [§ 29]; *hānem-* TO CONTINUE TO [§ 16]; *-n-* [§ 21])

āmanegut' then she had sexual intercourse with 160.20 (really a passive; *ä—tc'* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41])

māda, māta- to overtake.

ämādanegut' as he was overtaken 168.5 (*ä—tc'* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41])

äpyätcimatānet' they came and overtook him 196.4 (literally, HE WAS OVERTAKEN; *ä—etc'* [§ 41]; *pyätc-* an extended form of *pyä-* MOTION HITHER [§ 16]; *-n-* [§ 21])

ātācimatānet' as many as there were, were overtaken 12.3 (*tāci-* is an initial stem meaning AS MANY AS)

mec- to capture.

wikaskimecenāt' he would be able to capture him 24.6 (*wi—āt'* [§ 29]; *kaski-* same as *kaski-* ABILITY [§ 16]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

mācenemet' they that had been taken 12.12 (participial [§ 33]; hence the change in the vowel stem [§ 11])

āmecenet' then he was captured 14.9 (*ä—etc'* [§ 41]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

mecenēnagutc^e let us be captured 14.5

See also 14.7; 20.18; 182.11

mecit- large.

mecime^t*tegw*^t a large tree 162.6

āmeciketenānitc^t how large she was at the vulva 46.10; 322.21
(*ā—nitc*^t [§ 34])

mecu- to strike with a missile.

āmecugutc^t when he was struck by a missile (*ā—tc*^t [§ 29]; *-gu-* [§ 41])

mācugwinitc^t it hit him (*-gwini-* [§ 34])

The construction at 94.18 is difficult.

megu- together.

āhānemimegusōgisowāt^c they continued on their way bound together 26.4 (for *ā—wāt*^c [§ 29] in accordance with § 10; *hānemi-* to continue to [§ 16]; *sōgi-* is an initial stem, TO BIND; *-so-* [§ 40])

me'k- to find out.

āme^t*'kawāt*^t then she found him 160.15 (*ā—āt*^t [§ 29]; *-a-* [8 ?]; *-w-* [§ 21])

neme^t*'kawāwag* I have found them 94.13 (for *ne—āwag*^t [§ 28] by contraction [§ 10])

āme^t*'kawut*^c he was found 146.11 (for *ā—ut*^c [§ 41])

āme^t*'kameg* it was found 146.13 (for *ā—ameg*^t [§ 41])

See also 122.7, 13, 20; 334.10

me'kw- to remember.

me^t*'kwānemi*^t*'kan*^t thou shalt think of me 188.8 (*-āne-* [§ 18]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-i'**'kan*^t [§ 30])

āme^t*'kwānemāt*^c then he remembered him 328.18 (for *ā—āt*^c [§ 29])

See also 76.19; 138.7; 352.12

menw- to take pleasure in.

menwānetamāgw^e you may prefer it 32.15 (*-āne-* [§ 18]; *-t-* [§ 21]; *-amāgw*^e [§ 29])

nemenwāp^t I like to sit 370.10 (*ne-* [§ 28]; *āpi-* to sit)

nemenwānet^a I prefer it 136.3, 4 (*ne—^a* [§ 28]; *-t-* [§ 21])

mānwānetag^a he that preferred it 136.5

mānwānetag^a he that preferred it 138.2 (participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel [§ 12]; *-ag*^a [§ 33])

mānwānemātcin^t she whom he loved 148.7 (participial; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-ātcin*^t [§ 33])

See also 66.17; 136.13; 138.3; 176.12; 336.4

mes- to derive real benefit.

wīmesānetāmāgw^e ye shall derive real benefit from it 32.12
(*wī*—*āmāgw^e* [§ 29]; *-āne-* [§ 19]; *-t-* [§ 21])

metawū- to sulk.

īnāmetawāwātē then they sulked 30.9 (for *īnⁱ* *ā-* [§ 10]; *ā*—*wātē*ⁱ [§ 29])

māwāwtēigⁱ they that sulk at him 30.12 (participial; hence the vowel-change [§ 12]; *-āwtēigⁱ* [§ 33])

See also TITLE 30; and 30.10

metā- to take pleasure in.

nemetātānet^a I am pleased with it 324.16 (*ne*—^a [§ 28]; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-āne-* [§ 18]; *-t-* [§ 21])

metātānetāmānīnⁱ don't you take delight in it 324.15 (*-āmānī* [§ 29]; *-nⁱ* [§ 29])

mī- to give.

mīnenāgā^a I would give to thee 58.23 (*-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-nāgā^a* [§ 30])

kīmīneguwāw^a he shall give you 32.13 (*kī*—*guwāw^a* [§ 28]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8])

mīnegutcinⁱ they (inan.) that were given to him 24.28 (*-gu-* [§ 41]; *-tcinⁱ* [§ 34])

See also 24.23; 222.19, 20, 25

mīc- to give.

mīcīyāgāgu^a you might give to him 32.11 (*-īyāgāgu^a* [§ 30])

mīgā- to fight.

āmīgātītē he fought with 14.4 (*ā*—*tcē* [§ 29]; *-tī-* [§ 38])

āwāpīmīgātīwātē when they began fighting with each other 22.18
(*ā-* probably an error for *ā-*; *ā*—*wātē* [§ 29]; *wāpi-* [§ 16] to begin; *-tī-* [§ 38])

wāpīmīgātīwātē they began fighting with each other 34.8 (*ā*-dropped [§ 12])

wīmīgātītē he would fight with them 24.23 (for *wī*—*tcē* [§ 29])

wīmīgātīyānⁱ you will fight 24.25 (*wī*—*yānⁱ* [§ 29])

See also 24.26

mīsī- cacare.

āmīsītē when he eased himself 76.5 (*ā*—*tcē* [§ 29])

nīmīsⁱ I am about to ease myself 274.15, 16 (*nī-* [§ 28])

mīsīmīsīsā one would ease and keep on easing 272.20; 274.4, 8, 13 (reduplication [§ 25]; *-sā* lengthened form of *-sa* [§ 30])

See also 274.20, 21; 276.10

mītcī- cacare.

āmītcīnātc^t then he dunged on him 124.22 (*mītcī-* is related to *mīsi-* as *pōtci-* to *pōsi-*; *ā-ātc^t* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 21])

kicimītcīnātc after he had dunged on him 124.22 (*kīci-* for *kīci-* COMPLETION; *ā-* dropped [§ 12]; *-ātc* for *-ātc^t* [§ 10])

mītcī- to eat.

kemītc^t thou hast eaten 122.3 (*ke-* [§ 28])

āmītcītc^t then he ate 14.23

wīmītcītc^e she was on the point of eating 96.3 (*-te^e* [§ 29]; for the use of *wī-* with the subjunctive see my note, p. 823)

mītcīn^u eat thou 174.18 (*-n^u* [§ 31])

See also 174.19; 184.16; 240.7, 18; 336.2; 374.18

musw- to suspect.

āmuswānemāwātc^t they suspected them 150.14 (*ā-āwātc^t* [§ 29]; *-āne-* [§ 18]; *-m-* [§ 21])

muswānemāw^a he suspects him (*-m-* [§ 21]; *āw^a* [§ 28])

nahī- to know how.

nahīwīseniwātcīn^t they did not know how to eat 76.3 (*ā-* omitted on account of the negative; *-n^t* [§ 29]; *-wātcī* [§ 29]; *wīseni-* to eat)

wīnahuwīwīyān^t I desire to know how to get a wife 334.13 (*wī-yān^t* [§ 29]; for the syntax see § 35; *nah-* for *nahī-* by contraction [§ 10]; *wīwīw^t* to marry)

See also 336.3

nawī- to visit.

nīnawīhāw^a I am going to visit him 228.1; 238.21; 244.12; 256.1; 262.20 (*nī-āw^a* [§ 28]; *-h-* [§ 21])

wīnawīhetīwāg^t they will go visiting one another 242.5 (*wī-* for *wī-* used with intransitive independent future [§ 28]; *-h-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-tī-* [§ 38]; *-wāg^t* [§ 28])

nā- to fetch.

kēpyātcīnānen^e I have come to take you away 40.12; 42.18; 44.1 (*ke-n^e* [§ 28]; *pyātcī-* an extended form of *pyā-* MOTION HITHERWARD; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8])

nēpyātcīnānāw^a I have come to take her away 42.4 (*ne-āw^a* [§ 28]; *-n-* [§ 21])

nēpyātcīnānāpen^a we have come to take him away 58.8 (*ne-āpen^a* [§ 28])

nātauw^u 'k^u go and fetch him away 58.7 (*-t-* [§ 8]; *awu-* same as *āw^a-*, *aw^a-* [?]; *'k^u* [§ 31])

nāne 'k^u go fetch her 354.15 (*-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *'k^u* [§ 31])

See also 40.7; 42.1; 46.22; 58.8

nāci- to caress.

ānācitepānātc^t he caressed her head with his hand 188.4, 9 (*ā*—*ātc^t* [§ 29]; *tepā* head; *-n-* [§ 21])

nāgū-, nAgA- to sing.

ācināgāt^c thus he sang 110.18 (*ā*—*tc^t* [§ 29]; *ci* for *ici* THUS)

ācināgānit^c he sang 110.16 (*ā*—*nit^c* [§ 34])

ānAgamut^c then he sang 10.19; 110.18 (*ā*—*tc^t* [§ 29]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; *-u-* [§ 40])

pyāt^ccinAgamunit^c he came singing 350.6

ākiwinAgamunit^c he went about singing 350.15 (*ā*—*nit^c* [§ 34]; *-m-* [§§ 27, 31]; *-u-* [§ 40]; *kiwi-* an extended form of *kī-* [§ 16] movement in an indefinite direction; [Jones's translation is free])

See also 110.13

nāgwā- to depart.

wīnāgwāyagw^e we (incl.) should depart 62.23 (for *wī*—*yAgw^e* [§ 29])

ānāgwāwāt^c then they started on 138.14 (*ā*—*wāt^c* [§ 29])

nāgwāgōna now depart 170.6

wīnāgwāgwānⁱ (who) should depart 194.9 (*wī*—*gwānⁱ* [§ 32])

nāgwāwāpe^e he would go away 312.22 (for *nāgwāw^a* *āpe^e* [§ 10]; *-w^a* [§ 28]; *nāgwā-* is presumably more original than *nāgwā-*; cf. *āpyāwāt^c* WHEN THEY CAME [from *pyā-*] and my note § 11)

See also 44.16; 138.9, 11; 170.8

nū- to see.

ānātAgⁱ then he saw it, them 38.8; 202.11; 240.1; 266.5; 278.1 (*ā*—*Agⁱ* [§ 29]; *-t-* [§ 21]; derived from *nāw-*? [see § 12])

nāsā- whole, well.

wīnāsāhAgⁱ I shall make them well, I shall heal them 356.5 (*wī*—*Agⁱ* [§ 29]; *-h-* [§ 21])

wīnāsāhāw^a she shall heal them 356.6 (*-āw^a* [§ 28]; note the irregular use of *wī-* as a sign of the future with the independent mode transitive; note further that this is a future with a 3d person subject and 3d person object; see my note to § 28; *-h-* [§ 21])

nāsātē^e would that he were alive 12.14 (*-te^e* [§ 29])

See also 116.17; 158.13, 16

nāw-, nāu to see.

nāwāpⁱ they are seen 72.15 (*-āpⁱ* [§ 41])

ānāwāwāt^c they saw him 198.2 (for *ā*—*āwāt^c* [§ 29])

nāwagetcinⁱ we have not seen them 198.7 (*ä-* omitted because of the negative; *-agetci*, *-nⁱ* [§ 29])

nāwägwini did ye not see them 198.4 (for *-ägwiniⁱ* by contraction [§ 10]; *ä-* dropped; *-ägwini* for *-ägwē*; *-nⁱ* [§ 29])

äna'u'gutc she was seen 162.22 (for *ä—tcⁱ* [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; *-gu-* [§ 41])

näwutiwätcinⁱ whenever they see one another 276.16 (for *nä'u*; *-w-* is a glide [§ 8]; *-ti-* [§ 38]; the form is a participial; *ä* is left out before *wätcinⁱ* [*-äwätcinⁱ*] [§ 33] because *-ti-* really represents the objects exactly as in *äwäpimigätiwätcⁱ* 22.18 [for the analysis see under *miga-*])

See also 38.11; 80.5, 16; 182.15; 276.14; 288.14; 340.6

nAnā- ready.

nānāhawigō^u get ready 22.20 (*haw-* to be; *-gō^u* for *-g^u* [§ 6]; *-g^u* [§ 31])

nānāhawin^u get ready 44.1 (*-n^u* [§ 31])

nato-*, *nAtu- to ask, summon.

änatomegutciⁱ she was summoned 146.15 (*ä—tcⁱ* [§ 29]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41])

tcāgänatotiwätcⁱ all asked each other 60.13 (for *tcāgⁱ* ALL + *ä-* [§ 10]; *ä—wätcⁱ* [§ 29]; *-ti-* [§ 38])

nepyätcinatumāw^a I have come to summon him 200.1 (*ne—āw^a* [§ 28]; *pyätci-* an extended form of *pyä-* [§ 16] MOTION HITHERWARD; *-m-* [§ 21])

wätcinatomenāg^e why we (excl.) asked thee 336.11 (*wätci-* from *utci-* [§ 16] WHENCE [see § 11]; *-m-* [§ 21], *-e-* [§ 8]; *-nāg^e* [§ 29])

See also 40.5; 60.15; 240.7; 336.10, 13; 338.6, 7; 342.3, 6, 9; 366.19; 368.2, 13, 20, 22; 372.21

nemA-*, *nema- perpendicularity.

nemasun^u stand up 48.17 (*-su-* [§ 40]; *-n^u* [§ 31])

nemasōw^a he is standing up (*-sō-* [§ 40]; *-w^a* [§ 28]; the explanation in § 8 is wrong)

nematōn^u hang (it) up 240.5; 242.12 (*-t-* [§ 8]; *-ō-* [§ 19]; *-n^u* [§ 31])

nemasōw^a he stood 216.9

See also 48.18; 50.1, 9; 52.5; 54.3; 112.21; 238.3; 278.2

nep- to die.

nepetc^e may he die 68.14 (*-e-* [§ 8]; *-tc^e* [§ 31])

kīnep^e you shall die 68.17, 20 (*kī-* [§ 28])

nepege^e had he died 158.16 (inanimate; for *-'ke^e* [§ 29]; confusion of *g* and *k* [§ 3])

nepw^a he dies 332.18, 20 (*-w^a* [§ 28])

nepeniwan she had died 208.20 (for *-niwanⁱ* [§ 34] by contraction [§ 10])

See also 34.5; 114.16, 17, 20, 25, 26; 116.2, 3, 8; 158.15

nepä-, nepā- to sleep.

ke'tcinepaw^a he is sound asleep 284.19 (*ke'tci-* intensity; *-w^a* [§ 28])

nepāgwän^e he must have slept 306.11 (*ā* for *ä*, as in *pyāt^e* LET HIM COME, etc.; *-gwän^e* [§ 32])

ānepāt^t he fell asleep 324.19 (*ä—tc^t* [§ 29])

kīnepāpenā let you and I go to sleep 324.18 (prolongation by stress [§ 6] of *kī—pen^a* [§ 28])

See also 10.19; 284.3, 5, 24

nes- to kill.

nesegus^a he would have been slain 168.13 (*-e-* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41]; *-s^a* [§ 30])

kīnesāpen^a let us (incl.) slay him 94.7 (*kī—āpen^a* [§ 28])

wihutcinesagw^e why we (incl.) should slay him 94.9 (*wī—agw^e* [§ 29]; *-h-* [§ 8]; *utci-* [§ 16] whence)

nāsāwātciⁱ they whom they had slain 196.15 (*-āwātciⁱ* [§ 33]; participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel [§ 11])

See also 8.2, 3, 7, 12, 17; 10.3; 14.1; 26.13, 16; 350.2, 17

neski- to loathe, feel contempt for.

neskinamw^a he felt contempt for them 168.19 (*-n-* [§ 21]; *-amw^a* [§ 28])

āneskinuwānit^t she loathed him on that account 66.17 (*ä—ānit^t* [§ 34])

neneskinawāw^a I loathe him on account of 68.14 (*ne—āw^a* [§ 28])

āneskinawāt^t because you loathe him 68.17, 20 (*ä—āt^t* [§ 29])

kīneskimāw^a you shall scold at him 284.4 (literally, you shall loathe him with your tongue; *kī—āw^a* [§ 28]; *-m-* [§ 21])

āneskimegut^t he was scolded 60.8 (*ä—tc^t* [§ 29]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41])

See also 314.11; 330.23

nīgi- to be born.

ānīgīt^t he was born 18.4

nīmĩ- to dance.

nānīmihetiwāt^t they had a great time dancing together 18.12 (*nā-* [§ 25]; *-h-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *-wāt^t* [§ 29])

kīnīmīpenō^u let us (incl.) dance 132.29 (the form is peculiar; *-penō^u* evidently comes from *-penu* [§ 6]; *kī—penu* is closely

related to *kī*—*pena* [§ 28]; perhaps the *-a* has been split into a diphthong [§ 6])

kīke'tcinīmpw^a ye shall dance 280.17 (*kī*—*pw^a* [§ 28]; *ke'tci*—intensity)

See also 134.17; 220.15; 282.1, 3, 12

nīs- to reach and take down.

ānīsenag^t he reached up and took it down 320.22 (*ā*—*ag^t* [§ 29]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

See also 160.17; 352.15

nōn-, ***nūn-*** to suck.

wīnōn^e it (animate) shall suck 106.12 (*wī-* [§ 28])

See also 104.9; 106.11, 14; 196.13

nōta-, ***nōdā-*** to hear.

ānōtawāt^t when he heard him 110.16 (*ā*—*āt^t* [§ 29]; *-w-* [§ 21])

nōdāgānīt^t when he heard 146.14 (*-gā-* [§ 20]; *-nīt^t* [§ 34])

nūcā- to give birth to.

ānūcānāt^t she bore him 38.5 (*ā*—*āt^t* [§ 29] *-n-* [§ 21])

See also 38.4; 74.9, 10, 12, 15; 152.14

nūwī-, ***nōwī-*** out.

nūwī'kāg^a don't go out 12.4 (*-'kāg^a* [§ 30])

nūwīw^a he went out 160.10

ānūwine'kawāt^c he drove them out 94.16 (for *ā*—*āt^c* [§ 29]; *-ne'ka-* [§ 19]; *-w-* [§ 21])

nōwinōwīw^a many a time he went out 160.10 (*nōwī-* [§ 25]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

nwāwī'tāgāwāt^ccināpe'^e they continually went out to fight 12.5 (*nwāwī-* for *nūwī* [§ 12]; *-wāt^c* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 8]; *-āpe'^e* [§ 14])

See also 10.25; 12.7; 38.13; 162.9, 10

pā'k- to pluck.

āpā'kenāt^c then he plucked it 274.14 (*ā*—*āt^c* [§ 29]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

pānā- to miss.

ā'pānāpināt^c he failed to catch him 282.17

ātācipānāpināt^c where he failed to catch him 282.21

pānāhwāw^a he missed hitting him (*-hw-* [§ 21]; *-āw^a* [§ 28])

pānātākan^t you must have let it fall astray 230.11 (*-t-* [§ 21]; *-ākan^t* for *-agan^t* [§ 30]; confusion of *g* and *k* [§ 3])

See also 180.19; 382.7

pagA-, pagt- to strike.

wipāpagamātc 170.22 she was on the point of clubbing him to death (for *wi-ātc* [§ 29]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *pā-* [§ 25])

ā'pāpagamegut she was clubbed to death 164.2 (*-m-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41]; *ā-tc* [§ 29])

pagisenw it struck (*-sen-* [§ 20]; *-w* [§ 28])

ināpagicig it alighted over there 282.19 (for *in* *ā-* [§ 10]; *-g* for *-k* [§ 3]; *ā-k* [§ 29]; *-ci-* [§ 12] for *-cin-* [§ 20]; note the contradiction: *-cin-* is animate; *-k* inanimate)

See also § 14 and 146.16; 228.11; 232.9; 292.13

pagū- ahead.

pagūsusūg walk on ahead 338.18, 340.1 (*-s-* [§ 8]; *-usā-* [§ 19]; *-g* [§ 31])

pagūsūsān walk thou on ahead 340.4 (*-n* [§ 31])

pā'guhūw he makes him run (literally, he makes him go forward; *-hū-* [§ 21]; *-āw* [§ 28])

pemw-, pemwu- to shoot.

ā'pemwāt he shot him 22.23 (*ā-ātc* [§ 29])

ā'pemwag when I am shooting at them 116.24 (*ā--wag* [§ 29])

wi'pemwutāmān I shall shoot at it 118.3, 5 (*wi-āmān* [§ 29]; *-t-* [§ 21])

pemutāmawinū shoot him for me 204.9 (*-t-* [§ 8]; *-nū* for *-n* [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 6]; *-āmaw-* is the same as *āmaw-* in *nātāmawāw* *ō'sān* [literally, he saw him who was father to another; see § 34]; loss of *-w-* [§ 12])

See also 22.22; 118.8, 13; 204.1; 248.2, 5, 8, 14

penu-, peno- to go homeward, depart.

wi'penuyān I am going home 232.23, 256.14 (*wi-yān* [§ 29])

ā'pyātcipenut then he came back home 18.1 (*ā-tc* [§ 29]; *pyātc-* an extended form of *pyā-* [§ 16] MOTION HITHERWARD)

nī'penō I am going home 266.20 (*nī-* [§ 28])

kī'penopen let us go home 304.18 (*kī-pen* [§ 28])

See also 68.24; 160.3; 168.11, 15; 220.9, 14; 224.9, 6, 15; 252.12

pesw- to smoke out.

kīpeswāpen let us smoke them out 142.10 (*kī-āpen* [§ 28])

pāswātc they whom he was smoking out 142.16 (*-ātc* [§ 33]; participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel)

pe'tawū- to kindle a fire.

ā'pe'tawasuwāt they kindled a fire to warm themselves 138.10 (*-su-* [§ 40])

äwäpipe'tawāt then he set to work to kindle a fire 142.8 (for *ä—tc'* [§ 29]; *wäpi-* [§ 16] to begin)

ähanemipe'tawāt he kept on building the fire 142.13 (*hanemi-* same as *hanemi-* [§ 16])

pe'tawāk^u kindle a fire 158.20 (*-k^u* for *-g^u* [§ 31]; confusion of *g* and *k* [§ 3])

önäketcipetawāwāt accordingly they built a large fire 158.21 (for *ön'ä-* [§ 10]; *ä—wāt* [§ 29]; *ketc-* intensity)

See also 142.11; 146.4; 158.21

pīn- entrance into.

pīnahwin^u put me into 96.13 (*-a-* [§ 8]; *-hw-* [§ 21]; *-in^u* [§ 31]; *pīn-* is allied to *pī-(t)* [§ 16])

pīnahamān' I put it in (*ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *ä—amān'* [§ 29]; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

ä'pīnahwāt he put him into 326.17 (*ä—āt* [§ 29])

pōg- to fall.

ä'tcapōgisānit she fell far out there 102.17 (for *-nit* [§ 34]; *ä'tca-* probably is to be divided into *ä-* + *'tca-*; *'tca-* is *tca-* by reason of *ä-*; *tca-* is allied with *a'tetä-* DISTANT; *-isä-* is from *-isä-* [§ 19] MOTION THROUGH THE AIR)

pōku-, pōk- to break.

ä'papōkuskahwāt he kept on breaking them with his foot 14.5 (for *ä—āt* [§ 29 and § 10]; *pa-* [§ 25]; *-sk-* [§ 21]; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-hw-* [§ 21])

kepō'kahāpw^a you break it open 176.9 (*ke—āpw^a* [§ 28]; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

wīpō'kahag^t one shall break it open 176.8 (*wī—ag^t* [§ 29]; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

See also 14.8; and compare *ä'pwāwikaskipāpa'kunag^t* HE WAS NOT ABLE TO BREAK IT 126.3 (*ä—ag^t* [§ 29]; *pwāwi-* NOT; *kaski-* same as *kaski-* [§ 16] ABILITY; *pā-* [§ 25]; *-n-* [§ 21])

pōsi- entrance into.

äpōsi'tōwāwāt they loaded it into 212.22 (for *ä—āwāt* [§ 29]; *-tō-* [§ 37]; *-w-* [§ 8])

kicitcāgipōsi'tōwāt after they had loaded it into 212.23 (*ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *kici-* [§ 16] completion; *tcāgi-* [§ 16] totality; *-wāt* [§ 29])

äpōsite^t he got into it 214.2 (*ä—tc'* [§ 29])

See also 214.21; 224.12, 17

pōtc(t)- entrance into (allied to *pōsī*- [see § 8])

ā'pōtcisahutc' then he leaped into 164.15 (*ā—tc'* [§ 29]; *-isah-* same as *-isahō* [§ 19] TO JUMP; *-i* of *pōtci*- lost [§ 10])

pōtcisahōw^a he leaped into 164.16 (*-w^a* [§ 28])

āpōtcisahōwāt^c then they embarked into 214.15 (*-isahō*- same as *-isahō*- [§ 19]; *ā—wāt^c* [§ 29])

sana- difficult.

sana^agatwⁱ it is difficult 280.8 (*-gat-* same as *-gat-*)

sana^agatwⁱ it is difficult 280.12, 16; 332.17 (*-gat-* [§ 20]; *-wⁱ* [§ 28])

sana^aga'kinⁱ it is not difficult 284.17 (*-nⁱ*, *-'ki* [§ 29]; *-ga-* [cf. § 20])

See also 172.22

sāge- fear.

sāgesiw^a he was afraid 168.14 (*-si-* [§ 20]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

āsāgesiyānⁱ I am scared 312.14 (*ā—yānⁱ* [§ 29])

sāgihiyā'kanⁱ you might frighten her 312.16 (*-h-* [§ 21]; *-iyā'kanⁱ* [§ 30])

See also 336.8, 12; 344.7, 17; 346.1, 10

sīgatci-, **sīgatci-** to freeze.

āsīgatcīt^c when he froze to death 138.14

kīcisīgatcinīt^c after the other froze 138.15 (*ā-* dropped [§ 12]; *kīci-* [§ 16] completion; *ā—nīt^c* [§ 34])

sōgi- to bind.

āsogīsowāt^c they were bound with cords 26.3 (*ā—wāt^c* [§ 29]; *-so-* [§ 40])

āsōgihāt^c he bound her 140.7 (for *ā—āt^c* [§ 29 and § 10]; *-h-* [§ 21])

sōgisōyānⁱ where I am bound 106.17 (*ā-* dropped [§ 12]; *-sō-* [§ 40]; *-yānⁱ* [§ 29])

āsōgi'tōt^c he tied a knot 334.16 (*ā—t^c* [§ 29]; *-tō-* [§ 37])

See also 26.22; 108.6; 146.2; 338.21

tāg-, **tAg-** to touch.

ātāgenāt^c he touched her 46.2 (for *ā—āt^c* [§ 29]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

ākīcitāgātāmōwāt^c after they have touched it 184.18 (for *ā—amo-* *wāt^c* [§ 29]; *kīci-* [§ 16] completion; *-a-* same as *-e-* [§ 8 ¶]; *-t-* [§ 21])

āmāwitāgā'kwāhagⁱ then he went to touch it with a wooden pole 196.10 (*ā—agⁱ* [§ 29]; *māwi-* [§ 16] to go to; *-ā'kw-* [§ 18]; *-ā-* for *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

ūtageskag then he stamped on it 158.2 (*ā—agⁱ* [§ 29]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-sk-* [§ 21])

See also 158.5; 194.13; 194.19; 330.13

taci- as many as, number (cf. *taswi-*).

medāswātaciwātci the number was ten 164.4 (for *medāswi* ten [§ 50] + *ā-* [§ 10]; *ā—wātci* [§ 29])

ātaciwātci as many as there were 166.3

Possibly in the following passages *taci-* is to be explained in the same way, though this is not apparent from Dr. Jones's somewhat free translation: 90.12; 108.6; 110.4; 150.17; 152.20; 164.4; 166.3; 244.13; 336.9; 346.21. It is quite clear that *taci-* is in some way connected with *taswi-*, as is shown by *āmēdāciwātci* THEY WERE TEN 78.14, as compared with *medāswātaciwātci* THE NUMBER WAS TEN 164.4 (for *medāswi* *ā-* [§ 10]). The word for TEN is *medāswi* [§ 50]. For the interchange of *s* and *c*, see § 9; and for the loss of the second member of a consonant-cluster, § 12.

tagwi- together.

tagwi 10.2 together with

āttagwimecenetc they were taken captive together 26.3 (*ā—etc* [§ 41]; *mec-* to capture; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

tagwipēnētātāw the land was owned in common 34.1 (*āne-* [§ 18]; *-wi* [§ 28])

āttagwinatometci they were asked together 338.7 (*ā—etc* [§ 41]; *nato-* to ask; *-m-* [§ 21])

witaguswage^e that I should have put them together and cooked them 158.8 (*wi-* irregularly used with the subjunctive; see my note to § 29; *-age*^e [§ 29]; *u* for *wi* [§ 12]; *-sw-* for *-sū-* [§ 20])

See also 178.8; 372.17

tan-, tan- to engage in.

kī'tanetipen^a let us make a bet together 296.18 (literally, LET US ENGAGE IN AN ACTIVITY TOGETHER; hence, by inference, GAMBLE; *kī—pen^a* [§ 28]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-ti-* [§ 38])

āt'tanetitci he was gambling 314.6 (*ā—tc* [§ 29])

tanwā'wāmā'w^a he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; *-m-* [§ 21] *-āw^a* [§ 28])

tanwā'wā'tōw^a he bangs away on it (*-tō-* [§§ 21, 37]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

āt'tanwā'taminitci cries were sounded 192.3 (*ā—nitci* [§ 34]; *wā-* sound)

āt'tanenetiḡ in the thick of the fight 168.1 (*ā-* as ordinarily; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-ti-* [§ 38]; *-ḡ* locative suffix [§ 42]; the context alone suggests the idea of FIGHTING)

āhanemitānusātci as he continued to engage in walking 48.20 (*ā—tc* [§ 29]; *hanemi-* [§ 16] to continue to; *-usā-* [§ 19] to walk)

See also 190.13, 23

tap- to place trust in.

netapānem^u I put my trust in 190.15 (*ne-* [§ 28]; *-āne-* [§ 18]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-u* [§ 40])

taswi- as many as, as much as, number.

ätaswipyānītcin^t as many as came 8.9 (why *ä-* is used, is not clear;

pyā- from *pyä-* [§ 16] MOTION HITHERWARD; *-nītcin^t* [§ 34])

īnätaswihāt^t and hast thou included as many as there are

298.16 (for *īn^t ä-* [§ 10]; *īn^t* [§ 47]; *-h-* [§ 21]; *ä—āt^t* [§ 29])

tasw^t the number 20.7

taswicōniyā^t is the amount of money 34.16

īnitāswi that is the number 252.9 (*īn^t* [§ 47])

See also 8.14, 18; 10.5; 20.11; 32.13; 76.16; 246.21; 312.17, 21; 358.6; 374.3

tāpwe- to speak the truth.

ketāpw^e you were telling the truth 24.15; 322.9 (*ke-* [§ 28])

wītāpwayān^t I desire to speak the truth 324.13 (*wī—yān^t* [§ 29])

See also 322.16

tcīp- to nudge softly.

äwāpītcīpenāt^t then he began to nudge her softly with the finger

320.7 (*ä—āt^t* [§ 29]; *wāpi-* [§ 16] to begin; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

ätcītcīpetcānāt^t he gave her a nudge in the side 44.1 (*ä—āt^t*

[§ 29]; *-tcī-* [§ 25]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-tcā-* [§ 18]; *-n-* [§ 21])

tcīg(i)- edge.

tcīgāskut^t on the edge of the prairie 126.7

tcīgike'tcīgumīw^e by the shore of the sea 350.5 (*ke'tci-* intensity; *-gum-* = *-kam-* [§ 18])

tcīgike'tcīkamīw^e on the shore of the sea 100.14 (*ke'tci-* intensity; *-kam-* [§ 18]; *-ī-* same as *-i-* [§ 20]; *-w^e* for *-w^t* [§ 28];

literal translation, IT WAS THE EDGE OF THE GREAT EXPANSE)

See also 68.11; 110.7; 124.2

tcīt- down.

ätcītāpisahut^t there he sprang and crouched 188.15 (*ä—tc^t* [§ 29];

-isah^u same as *-isahō-* [§ 19]; *āpisahu-* for *āpi* + *isah^u* [§ 10];

āpi- TO SIT [THERE HE SPRANG AND SAT DOWN is literal])

ä'tcītāpiwāt^t there they sat down 190.14 (*ä—wāt^t* [§ 29])

See also 332.13; 352.15

te- to say.

netegōp^t I am called 12.19 (*ne—gōp^t* [§ 41])

netegw^a I was told 108.7 (*ne—gw^a* [§ 41])

keten^e I told thee 190.18 (*ke—n^e* [§ 28])

netenāw^a I said to him 216.5 (*ne—āw^a* [§ 28]; *-n-* [§ 21])

netegōg^t they call me 322.12 (*ne—gōg^t* [§ 28])
ketenepw^a I declared to you 346.2, 10; 358.23 (*ke—nepw^a* [§ 28])
ketekuwāw^a he has told you 370.12 (*ke—guwāw^a* [§ 28]; confusion
 of *g* and *k* [§ 3])
keteneyōw^e, I told thee before 110.5 (for *keten^e iyōw^e*; *iyōw^e*
 aforetime)

tepā- to be fond of, to love.

ketepānen^e I am fond of thee 314.4 (*ke—n^e* [§ 28]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-*
 [§ 8])
ātepānat^t thou art fond of them 276.19 (*ā—atc^t* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 21])
tepānāw^a she was fond of them 170.1 (*-n-* [§ 21]; *-āw^a* [§ 28])
tāpānat^a she whom you love 150.1 (*-n-* [§ 21]; *-at^a* [§ 33]; change
 of the stem-vowel, as the form is a participial)
 See also 148.2, 5; 190.18; 174.3

tepowā- to hold council.

kīcitepowāwātē^t after they had ended their council 338.5 (*kīci-*
 [§ 16] completion; *ā-* dropped [§ 12]; *ā—wātē^t* [§ 29]; it is likely
-wā- is identical with *wā* SOUND in § 20)
ātepowānetē^t he was debated in council 338.4 (*ā—etē^t* [§ 41]; *-n-*
 [§ 21]; *-ā-* for *-ā-* as in *ācīcātē^t* THEN HE WENT OFF ON A HUNT;
ā^tpyātē^t WHEN HE CAME; etc.)
 See also 336.8, 9

tes- to trap.

kīteso^ttawāpena let us set a trap for it 78.3 (*kī—āpena* [§ 28])
tesōtē^t trap (*-ōtē-* [§ 23])

tō^tk(ē)- state of being awake.

tō^tkīg^u wake up 46.15 (*-g^u* [§ 31])
ātō^tkīyān^t when I wake up 284.1
tō^tkītā he might wake up 284.18 (for *tō^tkītē* probably; *-tē* [§ 31])
ātō^tkītē^t then he woke up 126.1
āmāwītō^tkenātē then he went and woke him up 104.15 (*ā—ātē^t*
 [§ 29]; *māwī* [§ 16] to go; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])
 See also 40.18; 44.6, 7; 104.18

uwīw(ē)- to marry.

uwīwīyaneh^e if it had been you who married 216.16 (*-yaneh^e*,
 really *-yane^e* [§ 29])
āhuwīwītē^t then he married 216.20 (*ā—ītē^t* [§ 29]; *-h-* [§ 8])
kīhuwīwemen^e I shall marry you 148.19 (*kī—n^e* [§ 28]; *-h-* [§ 8]; *-e-*
 [§ 8]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8])
uwīw^a wife

See also 42.4; 44.13; 82.2; 148.8; 200.13, 18; 216.13, 16, 20

(u)wīgi-, (u)wīge- to dwell.

wīgiw^a he lives 220.22 (-w^a [§ 28])

āwiginītcⁱ where he dwelt 160.15 (ā—nītcⁱ [§ 34])

ā'kīwī'u'wīgewātcⁱ they went in an indefinite direction and lived there 66.15 (ā—wātcⁱ [§ 29]; kīwī motion in an indefinite direction; cf. kī- [§ 16])

wāwīgīt^a he who dwells 38.9 (from wīgi-; the change of the stem-vowel is due to the fact that the form is a participial [§§ 12, 33]; -t^a [§ 33])

wāwiginītcīnⁱ he who dwelt there 80.9, 20; 82.2, 10, 22; 84.10, 21, etc. (for the change of the stem-vowel see §§ 12, 33; -nītcīnⁱ [§ 34])

wāwīgītīgⁱ they who dwell here 194.7 (-tīgⁱ [§ 33])

āhuwīginītcⁱ where they were living 194.5, 18 (ā—nītcⁱ [§ 34]; -hu- is not an accretion, it is to be divided into -h- + u- [see my note on this point, § 8])

See also 10.5; 38.7; 160.14; 320.3; etc.

wānī- to lose.

āwānīhātⁱ he lost him 182.12 (ā—ātⁱ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wātā- to cook.

āwātāhātⁱ then she cooked a meal 240.12 (ā—ātⁱ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wīwātāhāgw^e we (incl.) shall cook for him 256.8 (wī—agw^e [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wīwūtāhawāwān^e shall we cook for him 260.15 (indirect question; wī—agwānⁱ [§ 32]; confusion of ^e and ⁱ unless wī- is used unusually with the subjunctive; -h- [§ 21]; -a- [§ 8])

See also 152.20, 21; 228.7; 232.3; 234.22; 244.7; 248.21; 262.8; 264.3; 266.1

wāpā- to look at.

kīwāpātāpen^a let us look into it 24.8 (kī—āpen^a [§ 28]; -t- [§ 21])

āwāpāmātⁱ he looked at her 46.7 (ā—ātⁱ [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21])

wāpāmīn^u look at me 322.3 (-m- [§ 21]; -īn^u [§ 31])

See also 104.13, 19; 146.7, 9; 250.8; 316.20; 338.7

wīcā- to implore.

āwīcāmegūt^c he was implored 182.5 (for ā—tēⁱ [§ 29, also § 10]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

wīnānī- to flay and cut up.

wīmanīhⁱ cut it up 58.2, 3; 162.13 (-h- [§ 21]; -i [§ 31])

§ 16

*äwīnanihātē*ⁱ then she flayed and cut him up 162.14 (*ä—ātē*ⁱ [§ 29]; *-h-* [§ 21])

*kīciwīnanihātē*ⁱ after she had flayed and cut it up 162.14 (*ä*-dropped [§ 12]; *kīci-* [§ 16] completion)

wīne- filthy.

wīnesiw^a she is filthy 292.15 (*-si-* [§ 20]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

See also 320.3

wīseni- to eat.

wīwiseniwagⁱ they shall eat 8.11 (*-wagⁱ* [§ 28]; *wī-* used because the form is intransitive [§ 28])

kīwīsenⁱ thou wilt eat 26.7 (*kī-* [§ 28])

*äwīsenitē*ⁱ then he ate 240.13 (*ä—tē*ⁱ [§ 29])

See also 14.18; 196.16, 20

yā- to go.

äyāwātē^e that they went 72.2 (*ä-* unexpected with the subjunctive, but see my note to § 29; *-wātē^e* [§ 29])

äyāmigaⁱkⁱ it went 224.17 (*ä—kⁱ* [§ 29]; *-miga-* [§§ 33, 20; cf. § 28])

äyāwātē they went 166.5 (for *ä—wātēⁱ* [§ 29])

See also 72.3; 176.20; 200.21; 262.2¹

SECONDARY STEMS (§§ 17-20)

§ 17. Types of Secondary Stems

These stems are not as numerous as initial stems, but still their number is quite considerable. They never occur alone, but are found usually between an initial member and a formative, or else, but much less often, in conjunction with only a formative. In a combination like *tā'wici'nw^a* HE FELL AND HURT HIMSELF, *tāwi-* is initial, and denotes pain; while *-cin* is secondary, and expresses the notion of coming to a state of rest. In the word *tci'mānⁱ* CANOE is a less frequent example of a secondary stem occupying first place. The stem *tci* or *tci^m* comes from a secondary element indicating movement in water, and the rest of the word is a suffix denoting abstraction, both together referring to the object used for going through water.

Just as a regular system of arrangement determines the position of initial stems before secondary stems, so the same sort of order places the representatives of one group of secondary stems before those of another group. This peculiar method of arrangement rests largely

¹ From p. 772 to here, addition by T Michelson.

on the nature of the ideas expressed by the stems. It makes possible a further division of stems into secondary stems of the first order and secondary stems of the second order.

Secondary stems of the second class always stand nearest to the terminal pronominal signs: *-usä-* in *wä'pusä'w^a* HE BEGINS TO WALK is a secondary stem of the second class. Some secondary stems of the first class, however, can occupy the same place, but only when a secondary stem of the second class is absent: *tca'gāna'getu'nw^a* HE HAS A SMALL MOUTH contains two secondary stems of the first class—one is *-nag-*, which expresses the notion of cavity; the other is *-tun-*, which refers to the idea of space round about a cavity, and is a term applied to the lips and mouth. A further division of secondary stems of the first class might be suggested, in which *-nag-* would represent one class, and *-tun-* the other: *-nag-* belongs to a more stationary type, which always stands next to initial stems when there are other secondary stems in composition; and *-tun-* belongs to a more mobile kind. The latter type is frequent in nominal form: *u'tōn'* MOUTH (literally, HIS MOUTH). In *kīwe'skwāpyä'w^a* HE IS DRUNK are illustrated two types of secondary stems: *kīwe-* is an initial stem meaning indefinite movement anywhere; *-skwä-* is a secondary stem of the first class, denoting the neck and back of the head; and *-pyä-* is a secondary stem of the second class, expressive of a subtle, attributive condition. [*-pyä-* belongs rather to the secondary nominal stems (§ 23); *-skwä-* apparently cognate with *-kwä-* (§ 18). But why can not *-skwä-* correspond to *-nag-*, and *-pyä-* to *-tun-*? At any rate, this does not affect the statement made at the end of § 19.—T. M.] A fuller and more correct rendering of the combination would be something like HE IS IN A STATE OF AIMLESS MOVEMENT IN THE REGION ABOUT THE NECK AND HEAD.

§ 18. Secondary Stems of the First Order

-ä'kw- relates in a general way to matter at rest and in the form of linear dimension, together with an uncertain implication as to its state of hardness. The term is of frequent use, an example of which comes out in the notion of WOOD, TREE, FOREST.

pe'kwä''kwāwi'w' it is a place of clumps of trees

pīgwä''kwāwi'w' a grove stands dense in the distance

pāgā''kwici'nw^a he bumped against a tree, post, bar (*pāg-* same as *pāg* [§ 14]; *-cin-* [§ 20])

§ 18

pe'cigwā'kwā'tw' the log, tree, stick, is straight
paḡā'kwitunācinw^a he bumps himself on the mouth (analysis
 § 14)

-nAg- expresses the idea of an opening, as of a hole.

pā''kānā'gētū'w' the hole gapes open
ma'gānā'getu'nw^a he has a large mouth (-*tun-* mouth [p. 796])
ku'gwānā'gucā'w^a he has holes pierced in his ears (-*cā-* ear [p. 796])

-tAg- is another characteristic term of uncertain definition. It refers to the idea of color without having reference to light, shade, hue, or any quality attributive of color. It is simply the idea in the abstract.

keta'gesi'w^a its color is spotted (animate)
wāba'tA'gawā'w^a its color is white (animate)
meckwa'tA'gawā'w^a its color is red (animate, *meckwa* red)

-āne- relates to mental operation.

ke'kā'nemā'w^a he knows, understands him
muswā'nemā'w^a he suspects him (*musw-* suspect; -*m-* [§ 37]; -*āw^a* [§ 28])
menwā'nemā'w^a he feels well disposed toward him
nā'gatawā'nemā'w^a he keeps him constantly in mind
panā'nemā'w^a he makes fun of him
āmānecitāhātē for she felt shame within her heart 38.12 (compare 210.15)
āmūswānemāwātē they began to suspect something wrong with them 150.14 (*musw-* suspect; -*m-* [§ 37]; *ā-āwātē* [§ 29])

-itā- refers to subjective feeling, and so finds place for manifold application.

ici'tāhā'w^a thus he feels (i. e., thinks; for *ici* thus + *itā*; -*hā-* [§ 20]; *w^a* [§ 28])
myāci'tāhā'w^a she is tearful, sad to weeping
mā'neci'tāhā'w^a he is ashamed (-*āne-* above)
upi'tāhā'w^a he is joyful
kīwātci'tāhā'w^a he is lonely (*kīwātē-* lonely; see also § 20)
ā'i'citāhātē he thus thought in his heart 202.10

-nāgu- stands for the idea of LOOK, APPEARANCE, RESEMBLANCE.

pe''kīnā'gusi'w^a he looks like a foreigner (-*si-* [§ 20])
ā'kwā'wināgusi'w^a he has an angry look (*ā'kwā* anger)
kecā'tcinā'gusi'w^a he has a gentle appearance
kīwā'tcinā'gusi'w^a he seems sad, lonely

-kam- expresses the idea of indefinite space as applied to such terms
as SWEEP, RANGE, LATITUDE, EXPANSE.

ke'tci'kamī'wⁱ it is the sea; it is the great expanse

ta'kamisä'w^a it flies over an expanse (-isä- [§ 19])

ta''kamī'w^a he crosses an open space

ka''kamī'w^a he makes a short cut across

-ka- imprint, track.

ä'pīci'kawānitⁱ they trailed (a bear into bushes) 70.12 (for *pīci*
see under *pīt-* [§ 16] and the analysis in text at end)

In the list of examples that follow immediately are stems relating
to parts of the body. Their inherent sense is concerned with space,
each form having to do with situation in a given relation.

-cä- carries the vague notion of something thin, as of a sheet, film,
blade. It is an association with this spacial sense that makes
it a term applied to the ear.

mamā'gecä'w^a he has big ears

kī'skecä'w^a he has no ears (literally, he is cut-ear)

kagā'nocä'w^a he has long ears

nā'kākīckīckecäcwātcāpe'^e and he would cut off their ears 8.12
(reduplicated stem allied to *kīsk*; for *-āci* [§ 29] *āpe'^e* [§ 14])

-kum- or **-gum-** conveys the intrinsic meaning of linear protrusion,
projection out from a base. The use of the term for NOSE is
a natural application.

wāgi'kumä'w^a he has a crooked nose

pāgiku'mäci'nw^a he bumped his nose (*pāgi-* see under *pāg-* [§ 14];
-cin- [§ 20])

tātōgi'kumä'w^a his nose spreads at the nostrils (-gi locative suffix)

kīnigu'māyā'wⁱ it is sharp at the point (*kīni-* [§ 16]; -wⁱ [§ 28])

nā'kākīckīgumäcwātcāpe'^e and he would cut off their noses 8.13
(for *nā'k^a* and *ä-*)

-tun- is used for the external space about the mouth.

mī'setu'nw^a he has a mustache (*mīs-* hair [§ 24])

kepa'getu'nw^a he has thick lips

pā''ketu'nw^a he opens his mouth

-wind- gives the notion of linear dimension, round of form, and of
limited circumference. It is a term for HORN.

tca'kwī'wī'nä'w^a he is short-horned

pō'kwiwī'näci'nw^a he fell and broke his horn (-cin- to fall [§ 20])

pa'kwī'winä'w^a he is shedding his horns

-'kwā- is a spacial element expressive of the place back of the neck, of the hair on the head, and even of the head itself. The term has also a feminine meaning, taken, it seems, from the notion of hair. The four different expressions—NECK, HAIR, HEAD, and WOMANKIND—are thus shown in the order named.

nāpe''kwāhwā'*w*^a he lassoes him by the neck; compare 282.18 (*hw* [§ 21]; -*āw*^a [§ 28])

ke''kite'*kwānā'**w*^a he hugs her around the neck (-*n-* [§ 21]; +*āw*^a [§ 28])

*pena'*hā'*kwā'**w*^a she combs her hair

*me'*se'*kwā'**w*^a she has long hair

*tā'*we'*kwā'**w*^a he has a headache (*tāwi-* [§ 16])

matagu''kwāhō'*w*^a he covers his (own) head

pyāte''kwāwā'*w*^a he brings home a wife (*pyā-* [§ 16]; -*t-* [§ 8]; -*āw*^a [§ 28])

mī''keme'*kwāwā'**w*^a he is wooing (*mī'*'*k-* [§ 16])

nīcō''kwāwā'*w*^a he has two wives (*nīcō-* [§ 12])

-tcā- signifies a material body with volume more or less plump and distended. It is used with reference to the abdominal region.

*upi'*skwātcā'*w*^a he is big round the waist

*pāge'*tcāci'*nw*^a he ran, and fell on the flat of his belly (the literal translation would seem to be HE FELL AND STRUCK HIS BELLY; see *pāg(i)-* [§ 14] and *pāgi-* cited under *-kum-* [p. 796]; -*cin-* [§ 20])

ke''kite'tcānā'*wa* he grabs him round the body (see *ke'*'kite'-*kwānāw*^a above)

*mī'*setcā'*w*^a he is afflicted with dropsy

§ 19. Secondary Stems of the Second Order

It is not always easy to determine the place of some secondary stems, whether they belong to the first or to the second order. In passing along the list, one should note that, in some respects, there is a general similarity in the groups of ideas expressed by secondary stems of the second class and by initial stems. There are, however, differences in the apparent similarities, the differences being chiefly of manner and degree. It is doubtful which of these two groups is the more numerous one.

ā in its naked form is so vague of sense that it is almost undefinable.

Its nature comes out well in the rôle of an assisting element, and as such often helps to convey the idea of motion. In

one instance its help brings about the definite notion of flight from danger.

kī'wāmō'w^a he flees hither and thither (for *kīw-* see under *kī-* [§ 16]; *-m-* [§§ 8, 21, 37]; *-ō-* animate middle voice [§ 40]; *-w^a* 3d person animate singular, intransitive aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

pe'māmō'w^a he hurries past in flight (*pem-* [§ 16])

pyä'tāmo'w^a he comes fleeing hitherward (*pyä-* [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-o-* [§ 40])

wīwāpāmoyanⁱ you had better begin to flee 98.5 (*wāp-* [§ 16]; *wī—yanⁱ* 2d person singular intransitive future, conjunctive [§ 29]; *-m-* [§§ 8, 21, 37]; *-o-* animate middle voice [§ 40])

pemāmoyane in your flight 98.5 (*pem-* [§ 16]; *-m-o-* as in last example; *-yane* 2d person singular intransitive present, subjunctive [§ 29])

äpītāmutcⁱ and in she fled 98.15 (*ä-* temporal prefix; *pīt-* into [§ 16]; *-m-* as in last two examples; *-u-* animate passive [§ 40]; *-tcⁱ* 3d person singular animate intransitive aorist, conjunctive [§ 29])

kīcipītāmutcⁱ after she had fled inside 98.16 (*kīci-* completion [§ 16])

wīwāpāmūtē'e it was her purpose to flee for her life 218.14 (*wāp-* [§ 16]; the form is explained in § 29)

-egä- is for the movement of one in the dance.

upyä'negä'w^a he moves slowly in the dance

nīgä'negä'w^a he leads in the dance

ä'hä'wegä'w^a he dances the swan-dance

cā'wānō'wegä'w^a he dances the Shawnee dance

äyāpwāwīwāpegäyāgw^e but before you begin dancing 280.21 (*wāp-* [§ 16]; *-yāgw^e* 2d person plural intransitive, conjunctive [§ 29])

-isä- conveys primarily the notion of VELOCITY, SPEED, and is associated with locomotion through the air.

hāni'wisä'w^a he runs swiftly

myācisä'wⁱ it lacks a keen edge (*-c-* [§ 21.5])

nemä'swisä'w^a he alighted feet first

kugwä'tcisä'w^a he tries to fly

pī'tcisä'wⁱ it blew inside (*pīt-* inside [§ 16])

tcāpō'gisä'w^a he fell into the water (for *āpō* cf. *āpō* [§ 24])

wātikesiyāgīcisāwā whence the cold comes, there he is speeding to 70.14 (analysis note 21, p. 869)

pemisä'w^a it went flying past 80.6, 17 (*pem-* past [§ 16]; *-w^a* 3d person singular animate aorist, intransitive, independent mode [§ 28])

änūwisāt^c so out he went on the run 254.15 (*ä—tc^c* [§ 29])

inānuwisāt^c then she flew out 146.9 (see § 11)

āhanisānīt^c it flew away 282.17, 19 (*-nīt^c* [§ 34])

ināpemanisānīt^c thereupon they went flying up 76.14

-isahō- is swift locomotion through the air and of a kind that is limited as to space and duration. The idea of the motion is defined by such terms as JUMP, LEAP, BOUND.

pītcī'sahō'w^a he leaps into an enclosure (*pīt^c*- see under *pīt-* [§ 16]; *w^a* [§ 28])

pyātci'sahō'w^a he comes a-jumping (*pyāt^c*- see under *pyä-* [§ 16])

kwāskwī'sahō'w^a he dismounts

nūwī'sahō'w^a he goes out on the jump (*nūw-* out; *änuwīt^c* he then went out 38.13; *änūwīwāt^c* and they went out 50.2)

ātci'pīisahūt^c she leaped with startled surprise 68.18

-ō- implies conveyance, portage, transportation. It has acquired the specific meaning of CARRYING A BURDEN ON THE BACK.

kī'yōmā'w^a she carries it (her child) about on her back (*kī-* [§ 16];

-y- a glide [§ 8]; *-ō-* [§ 19]; *-m-* instrumental, animate [§ 21]; *-āw^a*

3d person singular animate subject and object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

pe'mōtā'mw^a he passes by with a burden on his back (*pem-* to pass by [§ 16]; *-t-* instrumental inanimate [§ 21]; *-amw^a* 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person inanimate object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

kepyātōnepw^a I have brought you 90.1 (*pyä-* motion hither [§ 16];

-t- [§ 8]; *-ō-* [§ 19]; *ke—nepw^a* 1st person singular subject, 2d person plural object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

-ōtā- is for locomotion along a surface, and attended with effort and retardation. It is tantamount to the notion expressed by the words TO CRAWL.

ane'mōtā'w^a he crawls moving yon way

ta'kamōtā'w^a he crawls athwart

a'gōsi'ōtā'w^a he crawls upward (as up a tree) (compare *ōnā'ā-gōsīt^c* and then he climbed up 274.24; *āhanemī'a'gōsipahō-*

mīga'k^t climbed hurriedly up the hill 96.19; *wīhagōsīyān^t* I shall have to do the climbing 90.19)

ke'tāsi'ōtā'w^a he crawls upward (as up a hill)

pī'tōtā'w^a he crawls inside (*pīt-* [§ 16])

āhagwāyūtāwāt^c they creep forth 352.5 (*-ūtā-* same as *-ōtā-*)

ā'pemaqwāyutānīt^c they started to crawl out 352.11 (*pem* [§ 16]; *-nīt^c* [§ 34])

nā'kāpītōtātē then again he crawled into 290.4 (*nā'k-* again; *ā-* temporal prefix; *pīt-* into [§ 16]; *-tē* for *-tē'* 3d person singular animate aorist, conjunctive mode [§ 29])

-usā- has to do with locomotion by land, with particular reference to that of the foot and leg, and of such nature as to imply lack of speed. The combination of ideas involved is synonymous with the word WALK.

cōškā'kusā'w^a he walks straight, erect (*cōšk-* [§ 16])

wā'pusā'w^a he starts off on a walk (*wāp-* to begin [§ 16])

nāhusā'w^a he learns how to walk (compare *nahitcimāw^a* HE KNOWS HOW TO SWIM under *-tcim-* [p. 801])

tetē'pusā'w^a he walks round in a circle (*tetēp-* in a circle [§ 16])

pyā'tusā'w^a he comes a-walking (*pyā-* motion hither [§ 16]; *-t-* intervocalic [§ 8])

ā'pēmīwāpusātē' then he started to walk 194.19 (*ā-* temporal prefix; *pēmī-* *wāp-* [§ 16])

kīyusān^u walk thou about 300.2 (*kī-* about [§ 16]; *-y-* a glide [§ 8]; *-n^u* 2d person singular imperative [§ 31])

wī'kīyusāw^a it [animate] shall walk about 300.1 (*wī-* future)

pagūsusān^u walk thou on ahead 340.4

ā'kīwāpusāyāg^t after we proceeded on the way 342.13 (*ā-* temporal prefix; *kīci-* *wāp-* [§ 16]; see § 12 for loss of *ci*; for the ending see § 29)

-hogō- is locomotion by water, and differs from *-tcim-* in having more of the sense of CONVEYANCE.

pyāta'hogō'w^a he comes a-swimming (*pyā-* motion hither [§ 16])

kīwa'hogō'w^a he swims about (*kī-* motion round about [§ 16])

ā'nema'hogō'w^a he swims thitherward

sā'gitepā'hogō'w^a he swims with the head above water (*sāgi-* exposed [§ 16]; *tepā* head)

ā'pēmītepīkīckahugunītē' they passed by swimming 184.2 (*pēmī-* to pass [§ 16]; *-hugu-* same as *-hogō-*; *-nītē'* [§ 34])

-pahō- is of the nature of *-usā-*, differing from it only in the degree of locomotion. It denotes speed and swiftness, and is best translated by the term TO RUN.

pē'mīpahō'w^a he runs past (*pēmī-* to pass [§ 16])

nā'gīpahō'w^a he stops running (*nāgi-* to stop [§ 16])

kī'wīpahō'w^a he runs around (*kī-* motion round about [§ 16])

nā'gāskīpahō'w^a he runs with back bent forward

pā'cīpahō'w^a he leaves a gentle touch as he flies past on the run

äwäpahōwātē then they set to work to paddle 214.3 (for *äwäpi-pahōwātē* [§ 12]; *ä-*; *wäpi-* [§ 16]; *-wātē* [§ 29])

ä'pemi'pahutē then he went running along 110.7 (*pemi-* [§ 16])

ä'pyä'pahutē then he came on the run 254.19 (*pyä-* [§ 16])

ähānemi'a'gōsipahōmiga'kē then (the head) climbed hurriedly up the tree 96.19 (*hānemi-* [§ 16]; *-a'gōsi* see p. 799 under *-ōtä-*)

ätetepipahutē and round in a circle he ran 312.6 (*tetep-* [§ 16])

ätetepipahonitē then (his friend) was running around in a circle (*-nitē* [§ 34])

pyä'pahōwag they came a-running 276.14 (*pyä-* [§ 16]; *-wag* for *-wag'* [§ 28])

-pugō- is another term for locomotion by water. It expresses passive conveyance, the sense of which comes out well in the word
FLOAT.

pe'mitetepipu'gōtä'w' it floats past a-whirling (*pemi-* *tetep-* [§ 16]; *-w'* 3d person inanimate singular, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

nū'wipugō'w^a he came out a-floating (*nūwi-* OUT, see under *-isä-* [p. 798] and *-isahō-* [p. 799])

na'nōskwipu'gōtä'w' it floats about at random

ka'skipugō'w^a he is able to float (*ka'ski-* ability [§ 16])

-ne'ka- to drive, to pursue.

pāmīne'kawātcig' those who pursue, 70 TITLE (this form is participial [§ 33], hence the vowel changes to *pāmi-* from *pemi-*; *-ātcig'* pronominal form 3d person plural animate subject, 3d person animate object)

-tcim- is locomotion through water. It is equivalent in meaning to the word SWIM.

kīwi'tcimä'w^a he swims round about (see under *kī-* [p. 766])

pemi'tcimä'w^a he swims past

nahī'tcimä'w^a he knows how to swim (compare *nahūsäw^a* HE LEARNS HOW TO WALK under *-usä-* [p. 800])

nō'täwi'tcimä'w^a he gives out before swimming to the end of his goal

önäwäpācōwitcimātē then he started to swim out to the shore 276.7 (*wäp-* [§ 16])

-gāpā- is for perpendicularity, and its use is observed in situations of rest with upright support. The term is rendered by the words
TO STAND.

ne'nigwi'gāpā'w^a he stands trembling

ne'maswi'gāpā'w^a he rose to his feet

nagi'gāpā'w^a he came to a standstill (*nagi* [§ 16])

pōni'gāpā'w^a he ceased standing (*pōni-* [§ 16])

tcāgānagi'gāpāwāt^c all came to a standing halt (*tcāgi·nagi-* [§ 16])

inānagikāpāwāt^c and then they came to a standing halt 50.17
(*-kāpā-* for *-gāpā-* [see § 3])

[To prove that any given stem is one of the second class of the second order, from the definition laid down in § 17, one must find it after a stem of the first class of the second order. Now, it will be noticed that not one of the stems given in this section as belonging to the second class of the second order in point of fact is found after a secondary stem of the first class; or, at any rate, no example of one has thus far been pointed out. Accordingly, it follows that at present there is no reason why the so-called second class of the second order should not be relegated to oblivion and the entire body merged with the stems of the first class of the second order. The proposed division of stems of the first class of the second order into two subdivisions strikes me as sound in principle; but too few secondary stems have been thus far pointed out to make this division feasible at present.

The following remarks were written subsequent to the preceding comments. As it is admitted in § 14 as well as in § 17 that two secondary stems of the first class can occur in combination, there is no reason why *ta'kamisāw^a* (under *-kam-* § 18) should not also fall into this class (*-kam-* + *-isä-*). It should be noted especially that *ta-* is initial: see § 17 and my note in § 14.—T.M.]

§ 20. Secondary Co-ordinative Stems

There is yet another class of stems that occupy a place just preceding the terminal suffixed pronouns. They serve a double office,—one as co-ordinatives between preceding stems of a purely verbal nature, and following pronominal elements; the other as verbals signifying intransitive notions of existence, being, state, condition. Some express the notion feebly, others do it with more certainty. Many stand in an intimate relation with the subjective terminal pronouns, in a relation of concord, and one so close that they take on different forms; some to agree with the animate, others with the inanimate. Their nature and type are shown in the examples.

1. *-cin-* animate; *-sen-* inanimate.

-cin- is an animate term with much variety of use. Its essential meaning is CHANGE FROM MOTION TO REST. The length of

the pause can be long enough to indicate the idea of RECLIN-
ING, LYING DOWN.

sā'gici'nw^a he lies exposed (*sāgi-* [§ 16])

āta'wāci'nw^a he lies on his back

kīcū'wici'nw^a he lies warm

ācegininīc^t when he lay 116.9

āhāpē'kwāhīcinowātē^t so they lay with a pillow under their heads
322.20

ācegininowātē as they lay there together 324.8

ācegininīg where he lay 326.1

The cessation may be only momentary, like the instant respite of
the foot on the ground during the act of walking. The term is
translated into STEP, WALK, in the following examples:

pē'mīwā'wāci'nw^a it is the sound of his footstep as he passes by
(*pēmī-* [§ 16])

pyātwā'wāci'nw^a it is the sound of his walk coming home (*pyā*
[§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 8])

anēmawā'wāci'nw^a it is the sound of his step going away

Again, the rest may be sudden, and indefinite as to duration.

The meaning in this light comes out in words expressive of
descent, as FALL, DROP.

pā'gici'nw^a (the bird) lights (see *pāg-* [§ 14])

ā'pyātcipāgicinīc^t then the bird came and alighted 98.3 (*pyātcī-*
see *pyā-* [§ 16]; *-nīc^t* [§ 34])

pī'tāci'nw^a he dropped inside (*pīt-* [§ 16])

cō'skwāci'nw^a he slips and falls (*cōsk-* [§ 16])

-sen- is inanimate, and corresponds to *-cīn-*. It is of wide use,
too. It can be applied in the examples illustrating some of
the uses of *-cīn-*. To indicate REST IN PLACE *-sen-* is used in
the following examples:

sā'gise'nw^t it lies exposed (*sāgi-* [§ 16])

āta'wāse'nw^t it lies wrong side up

kīcū'wise'nw^t it lies in a state of warmth

It likewise expresses the notion of instant change coming from
rapid contact between two bodies. As in the illustrations for
-cīn-, so in the following, the idea for sound is represented by
the reduplicated form of *wā*. The idea of contact and the
idea of interval between one contact and another are expressed
by *-sen-*.

pe'miwä'wäse'nw' it passes by a-jingling (*pemi-* [§ 16]; *-w'* [§ 28])
pyätwä'wäse'nw' it comes a-ringing (*pyät-* see *pyä-* [§ 16])
anemwä'wäse'nw' it goes yon way a-tinkling

Some of its uses to express DESCENT are—

pä'gise'nw' it struck, hit, fell, alighted (*pä-* [§ 14])
pī'tāse'nw' it dropped inside (*pīt-* [§ 16]; *-ā-* [§ 19])
cō'skwise'nw' it slid and fell (*cōsk-* [§ 16])

[Apparently *-sen-* can be used also with an animate subject:
ä'pagisenetc' 160.1.—T. M.]

2. *-si-* animate; *-ā-* inanimate.

-si- implies in a general way the attribute of being animate. It can almost always be rendered in English by an adjective used with the verb TO BE:

mō'wesi'w^a he is untidy (*-w^a* [§ 28])
kā'wesi'w^a he is rough, uneven, on the skin
cā'wesi'w^a he is hungry (i. e., feeble, faint by reason of being famished)
kepa'gesi'w^a he is thick of skin

-ā- is the inanimate correspondent of *si-*:

mō'wāw^t it is soiled, stained (*w^t* [§ 28])
kā'wāw^t it is rough, unpolished, prickly
cā'cawā'w^t it is pliant, yielding
ke'pagyā'w^t it is thick

3. *-sū-* heat, animate; *-tā-* heat, inanimate.

-sū- signifies that the animate subject is in a state of heat, fire, warmth:

wī'casū'w^a he is sweating
a'kasū'w^a he is burned to a crisp
pā'sesū'w^a he is burned
kī'cesū'w^a he is cooked done (*kīci-* [§ 16])
ä'ä'kasutc' he was burned alive 160.1
kīcitcāgesutc' after he was all burned up 160.2 (*kīci-*, *tcāgi-* [§ 16])

-tā- is the inanimate equivalent of *sū-*:

wī'catā'w^t (weather) is warm
a'katā'w^t it burned to ashes
pā'setā'w^t it is hot, heated (*pās-* [§ 16])
kī'catā'w^t it is done cooking (*kīci-* [§ 16])

(*-ā-*).—The *ä* of *tä* in the last illustration has been met before in combinations like *usä* TO WALK, *isä* FLIGHT, *ōtä* TO CRAWL,

egä TO DANCE, and some others. In the form of *kä*, '*kä*, and sometimes *gä*, it helps to express activity, occupation, exercise, industry. It admits of a wide range of use with the three forms, but everywhere is distinguished the idea of DOING, PERFORMING.

nenu'su'kä'wä he is on a buffalo-hunt

kepi'hikä'wä he is making a fence (i. e., an enclosure). [*kep-* is an initial stem denoting ENCLOSURE.—T. M.]

kōge'nigä'wä she is washing clothes (i. e., doing work with water [*kōg-* § 16])

There is no precise notion expressed by the vowel *ä* in such augmented forms as *-hä-* and *-wä-*. It is an empty sign so far as standing for an idea goes; yet the vowel, like some others in its class, plays an important function. It helps to define the preceding stems and to connect them with the terminal pronouns. A copula might be an apt term for it, for such is its office. The following show some of its uses:

kī'wātcī'tähä'wä he is melancholy (*-itä-* [§ 18])

ā'kwī'tähä'wä he is sullen

kī'yāwä'wä he is jealous

ā'kwäwä he is angry

The inanimate retains *ä* in *-ämigat-*. As in the animate, so in the inanimate, the rendering is usually with some form of the verb TO BE. The inanimate admits of a further meaning, implying something of the notion of vague extension, like prevalent tone, pervading temper, dominant state of things. Such is the essential idea that comes from the substitution of *-ämigat-* for the animate in the forms that have just been given:

ne'nusu'kä'migä'twī the buffalo-hunt is the all-absorbing topic
ke'pihikä'migä'twī everything is given over to the building of enclosures

kō'genigä'migä'twī the place is astir with the washing of clothes

kī'wātcitähä'migä'twī the place is sad, dolefully sad

ā'kwitähä'migä'twī the air is all in a spleen

kī'yāwä'migä'twī the place is mad with jealousy

ā'kwä'migä'twī it is aflame with anger

It is well to mention at this point an inanimate use of *-gat-*, a component element of *-ämigat-*. The form is sometimes *-gwat-*, *-kwat-*, or *-'kwat-*. In function it is not unlike the inanimate

-ā-, shown a little way back as an equivalent of the animate -si-. Furthermore, it has a very common use of expressing ideas of vague existence in space of such things as odor, fragrance, atmospheric states of the weather.

peci'gwā'kwā'tw' (tree, log, stick) is straight

mī'cāgā'tw' it is fuzzy

mē'nāgwā'tw' it smells, stinks

mī'cātcī'yāgwā'tw' it is fragrant

mē'ca'kwā'tw' it is a clear day or starry night (literally, it is a state of immensity)

negwā'na'kwā'tw' it is cloudy (more literally, a process of covering is going on above)

pōsā'na'kwā'tw' clouds hang heavy, look angry (literally, a condition of enlargement, expansion, is taking place overhead)

(-i-).—The vowel *i*, in the forms -wi- and -hi-, is another element with the office of a link auxiliary. It is a common characteristic of *i*, in one or the other form, to increase or to retain the quantity of the vowel in the preceding syllable. It frequently lends emphasis to the meaning of a whole combination.

kīwāte'sīhi'w^a he is so lonely (for *kīwāte* beside *kīwātcī*, cf. *pyāte* beside *pyātcī* [pyā- § 16]; -sī- = -si-, above)

sānāge'sīhi'w^a he is positively unyielding, incorrigible

The inanimate of the same is—

kīwā'tcāhi'w' the place is so lonely (-ā- inanimate of -si-)

sānāga'tōhi'w' it is certainly tough, formidable

Some instances show that the use of *i* is not always in agreement with the principle of strict pronominal concord; in other words, that it is not a peculiarity of one or the other gender.

mē'tōsāne'nīhi'w^a he is mortal, exists as a mortal

wāwāne'skāhi'w^a he is bad, lives an evil life

mē'tōsāne'nīhi'w' it is in nature mortal

wāwāne'skāhi'w' it has the stamp of evil on it

A common use of *i* conveys the idea of entrance into a state, or of becoming a part of a condition.

mā'netōwi'w^a he takes on the essence of supernatural power, is supernatural power itself (personified)

ugi'māwi'w^a he becomes chief

mā'netōwi'w' it is charged with, is possessed of, supernatural power; it becomes the supernatural power itself

ugi'māwi'w' it partakes of the nature of sovereignty

§ 21. INSTRUMENTAL PARTICLES

A set of elements denoting different notions of instrumentality incorporate after initial stems and after secondary stems of the first class. They introduce a causal relation, and render verbs transitive. Their nature and type come out in the illustrations.

1. **-h-** is for instrumentality in general.

kA'skahA'mw^a he accomplishes an act with the aid of means

pA'nahA'mw^a he failed to hit it with what he used

hA'pi'nahA'mw^a he unloosed it by means of something

-h- often gets so far away from its instrumental significance as to be absorbed by a general causal idea.

kīwā'mohā'w^a he puts them to wild flight (*kī-* [§ 16]; *-ā-* [§ 19]; *-āw^a* [§ 28])

māne'cīhā'w^a he disgraces him

nī'cwi'hā'w^a he owns two (animate objects)

The instrumental form is frequently **-hw-** instead of **-h-**.

pī'tahwā'w^a he buries him (*pīt-* [§ 16]; *-āw^a* [§ 28])

pā'guhā'w^a he makes him run

pōtē'gwāhwā'w^a he pierced him in the eye with something

2. **-n-** refers to the instrumentality of the hand.

nō'tānA'mw^a he falls short of reaching it with his hand (*Amw^a* [§ 28])

pA'nenA'mw^a he failed to hold it with the hand

ātā'penA'mw^a he takes hold of it with the hand

The use of **-n-** is so common that its symbolism gets pretty far from its original meaning. In some instances **-n-** refers just as much to mechanical means in general as it does to hand.

nā'nāw^a he goes to fetch him

ā'wānā'w^a he carries him away

me'cenā'w^a he catches him

And in other instances the notion of hand becomes obscure.

māne'wānā'w^a he loves her as a lover

tA'pānā'w^a he is fond of her as a lover, friend, or relative

kA'nōnā'w^a he talks to her (*kAn-* [§ 24])

3. **-sk-** expresses the doing of an act with the foot or leg.

tA'geskA'mw^a he kicks it

tā'geskA'mw^a he touches it with the foot

pātā'ketcā'skarwā'w^a he spurs him in the side (literally, he pierces him in the side with the foot)

4. **-p-, -pu-, or -pw-** denotes an act done with the mouth.

sA'gi'pwä'w^a he bites him (i. e., he takes hold of him with the mouth [*sAgi-* § 16]; *-äw^a* [§ 28])

sAgi'putō'w^a he bit it (*-tō-* [§ 37])

kī'ckiku'mä'pwä'w^a he bites off his nose (*kīcki-* cut; *-kum-* nose [§ 18]; *-äw^a* [§ 28])

pō'tetu'nä'pwä'w^a he kisses her (*-tun-* [§ 18]; *-äw^a* [§ 28])

5. **-c-, -cw-, or -sw-** signifies an act done with something sharp.

pe'tecō'w^a he cuts himself accidentally (with a knife)

kiskāno'wäcwä'w^a he cut off the (animal's) tail

kī'skecA'mw^a he cut it off

kiske'cäswä'w^a he cut off (another's) ear (*-cä-* ear [§ 18])

The association of the two ideas of something sharp, and something thin and film-like, affords an explanation of why *c* refers not only to the ear, but also to the notion of the ear as an instrument; usually, however, in an intransitive sense.

pe'secä'w^a he listens (compare *-cä-* [§ 18])

nanä'tucä'w^a he asks questions (i. e., he seeks with the ear)

6. **-m-, -t-**. Farther back were shown a number of attributive elements indicating activities with reference to one or the other gender. The elements were preceded by certain consonants, which had much to do with indicating the gender of what followed. There is an analogous process in causal relations. Certain consonants precede pronominal elements in much the same way as the instrumental particles that have just been shown. These consonants serve as intervocalics, and at the same time point out the gender of what follows. A very common consonant is *m*, which precedes incorporated animate pronominal elements in the objective case. It sometimes means DOING SOMETHING WITH THE VOICE, the act being done with reference to an animate object.

pō'nimä'w^a he stops talking to him (*pōni-* [§ 16])

tanwä'wämä'w^a he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; for *wäwä-* compare examples under *-cin-, -sen-* [§ 20])

kA'skimä'w^a he gains her by persuasion (*kAski-* [§ 16])

Corresponding with *m* on the inanimate side is *t* or *'t*, but the use appears there in a different sense.

pō'ni'tō'w^a he stops doing it (*pōni-* [§ 16])
tanwä'wä'tō'w^a he bangs away on it (*-ō-* [§ 37])
kā'ski'tō'w^a he gets it, he buys it (*kāski-* [§ 16])

It is not always certain if the symbol stands for a genuine instrumental. Its causal force is so indefinite at times as to represent no other function than to make an animate verb transitive.

wā'bāmā'w^a he looks at him (*wābā* same as *wāpā* TO LOOK AT; *-āw^a* [§ 28])

pā'gāmā'w^a he hits him (*pāg-* [§ 14]; see also examples under *-cin-* *-sen-* [§ 20])

mī'kēmā'w^a he is occupied with (an animate object). It is the idiom for HE WOOLFS HER, HE ATTENDS HIM (in sickness) (*mī'k-* [§ 16])

The parallel of the same thing with *t* and the inanimate would be—

wā'bātā'mw^a he looks at it (*-āmaw^a* [§ 28])

pā'gātā'mw^a he hits it

mī'ketā'mw^a he is busy with it

7. *-s-*, *-t-*. Another frequent consonant, indicating that the following vowel represents an animate object, is *s*. In the inanimate, *t* replaces *s*.

ku'sāw^a he fears him

ā'sāw^a he owns something animate

ku'tāmaw^a he fears it

ā'tōw^a he has it (*-ō-* [§ 37]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

8. *-n-*, *-t-*. It was shown that *n* referred to activity with the hand.

The reference was clear when the object was animate: as—

pyä'nāw^a he fetches him (literally, he comes, bringing him with the hand [*pyä-* § 16])

nā'nāw^a he goes to fetch him with the hand

The instrumental notion of the hand is sometimes lost when the object of the activity is inanimate. In that case *t* replaces *n*.

pyä'tōw^a he fetches it (*-ō-* [§ 37])

nā'tōw^a he goes to fetch it

Substantival Composition (§§ 22-24)

§ 22. CHARACTER OF SUBSTANTIVES

A pure substantive in the strict sense of the word is wanting in the Algonquian languages, but what is here termed a substantive is only part of that. The composition of a so-called substantive-group

is not at all unlike that of a verb. Initial and secondary stems combine in the same kind of way; link-stems also fall in line; and the element to indicate the notion of a specifier is a sort of designating suffix that is susceptible of a comprehensive application. The suffix, in turn, ends with one or the other of the pronominal signs to show which gender the word is—*a* for the animate, and *i* for the inanimate. Often there is no designative suffix at all, but merely a pronominal termination to mark the end of the word, and leaving the idea of a substantive to be inferred from the context. In the illustrations of noun-composition, only the absolute form of the nominative is given, and under the component parts of secondary stems and suffixes.

§ 23. SECONDARY STEMS

-ā'kw- has been met with before in another connection, meaning MASS, usually in linear dimension, and referring to WOOD, TREE. It conveys much the same meaning in the noun.

me'ciwā''kw^a dead fallen tree (*meci-* large [initial])

ma'gā'kwa''kⁱ tree of large girth (*mag-* large [initial])

mā'ckwā'kwⁱ red stem (the name of a medicinal plant) (*mäckw-* blood or red [for *meckw-*])

pe'mitā'kwⁱ collar-bone (*pemi-* spacial notion of SIDE, BY, LATERAL [§ 16])

-ōtā- is probably akin to the same form met with in the verb, and denoting TO CRAWL. It has no such specific meaning in the noun, but refers in a general way to human interests, especially in an objective relation.

me'gō'tāwe'nⁱ dress (of a woman) (*meg-* cover [initial])

me'sōtā'wⁱ rain, wind, rumor, news, the whole world (*mes-* totality [initial]; *-wⁱ* [§ 28])

u'tōtā'm^a or *utō'tām^a'nⁱ* his eldest brother, his guardian, his master, his clan tutelary, his giver of supernatural power (*u—manⁱ* [§ 45])

ō'tāwe'nⁱ TOWN probably belongs to this class

-na'k- refers to the spacial notion of TOP, CREST, APEX.

kā'wat^a'na'kⁱ brittle-top (the name of a medicinal plant) (*kāw-* roughness, asperity)

mäckwa'na'kⁱ red-top (the name of a plant used for medicine) (*mäckw-* red)

-ōtc- or **-ōt-** conveys the idea of LATENCY, and refers to something used for a purpose. The **-ō-** is the same as that met with before, denoting the notion of passive conveyance.

te'sōtcē' trap (*tes-* to entrap [initial stem])

aca'mōtcē' bait (*acam-* to give to eat)

nā'neskwāputcē' dart (*nāne-* to poise; *nāneskwā* to poise by the neck; *nāneskwāp* to poise by a notch in the neck [done by a knot at the end of a string used in throwing the dart]; for **-ōtc-** : **-ōt-**, cf. *pītc(i)* : *pīt* [§ 16])

-pyā-, a term incapable of specific definition, denotes something of the vagueness implied in words like ESSENCE, QUALITY, CONDITION.

kī'wāpyā' crawling vine (*kīw-* indefinite movement or space [literally, a something with the attribute of movement almost anywhere about])

kīcō'pyātā'g' hot water (*kīc-* [initial] and *tā-* [cf. *-tā-* WARMTH [§ 20]). The objective idea of WATER is transferred to the acquired condition; and the term signifying the new state stands for water, although it does not mean water—a common process peculiar to the psychology of the language

-gi- or **-ge-** expresses the idea of SIMILARITY, RESEMBLANCE. With the connective *ā*, as **-āgi-** or **-āge-**, it is used to represent the idea for some kinds of cloth.

ma'netōwāge'n' like the mysterious (the name of an expensive broadcloth used for leggings and breech-clout)

me'ckwāge'nw' like the red (the name of a red woolen broadcloth with white edge)

cō'skwāgi' like the smooth (a fine woolen broadcloth used for garments by women on ceremonial occasions) (*cōsk* [§ 16])

-pa'k- refers to the external structure of a dwelling.

pe'mitōpa''kw' side (of a lodge) (for *pemi-* cf. under **-ā'kw-** above)

tcā'pa'kwā'n' wall (of a lodge) (*tcā-* [initial] refers to interlocation)

a'kwī'tapa''kw' roof (of a lodge) (*a''kw'* on top, surface)

§ 24. NOMINAL SUFFIXES

The examples from this point on to the end contain formatives that make a combination take on more of the character of a substantive. The stems that precede the formatives stand in a kind of attributive relation.

-ask- is a generic term for plants and herbs, and is common in the names for medicines.

tane'tiwa'skw' gambling-medicine (*taneti* MUTUAL ACTIVITY, by inference GAMBLING; *-ti-* [§ 38])

mīcātcine'nīwa'skw' perfume (*mīc* large; *mīcāt* state of largeness; *mīcātcineni* man in a feeling of largeness)

wā'baskw' white medicine (*wāb-* white; also to look at)

-āp- appears in combinations denoting CORD, STRING.

me'tegwā'pi bow-string (*me'tegw'* wood, stick)

atū'sitā'pi moccasin-string (*-ūsi-* is related to the stem *-usā-* to WALK)

A'sapā'pi string, thread, cord

-min- is a collective term for FRUIT, GRAIN, BERRY.

me'cīmi'nā apple (literally, large fruit; *mec-* initial stem)

A'dāmi'nā corn

wā'bimi'n' white corn

adū'imi'n' strawberry (literally, heart-berry)

kā'wimi'nā gooseberry (literally, prickly, rough, or thorny berry; cf. *kāwesiwā* he is rough [§ 20])

-pō- or **-āpō-** refers to fluid, liquid.

ne'pōp' soup (*ne'p'* water)

ma'ciski'wāpō'w' tea (literally, herb-drink or herb-fluid)

wicku'pāpō'w' wine (literally, sweet fluid)

maskutā'wāpō'w' whisky, rum, alcohol (literally, fire-fluid; *-tā-* [§ 20])

wīmeckwāpōgateniw' there shall be a red fluid 184.19 (*meckw-* red [initial stem]; *-gat-* [§ 20]; *wī-* sign of intransitive future [§ 28]; *-w'* [§ 28]; *-ni-* [§ 34]; *-e-* to prevent the cluster *-tn-* [§ 8])

-mutā- is a general term for receptacle as the notion is expressed in POCKET, POUCH, BAG.

mīci'mutā'v paunch (*mīc-* littleness, shortness, as in fuzz, and so fuzzy pouch)

maski'mutā'v bag, sack (*maski-* as in *ma'skiski'w'* grass, reed, and so reed bag, grass bag)

kā'ki'mutā'v bag made from linn-wood bark (*kā'k-* to dry, season, and so a bag of seasoned material)

pīcā'ganimutā'v parflèche (*pīcāga'n'* rawhide, and so rawhide pouch)

-gAn- is a comprehensive term expressive of instrumentality.

kepanō'higa'n' lid (for a bucket, basket) (*kep-* to enclose; *-an-* opening, and so an object for closing an opening)

ke'patci'higa'n^t lid, cork for small opening, as in a bottle

kepī'higa'n^t fence (*kep-* to enclose)

kā'wipu'tciga'n^t file (*kāwi-* rough, serrated; *-pu-* or *-put-* [see § 21; cf. *pīti-* beside *pīti-*] bite, and so an indented tool for taking hold)

apwā'tciga'n^t scaffold for roasting and drying meat on (*apwā-* to roast, and so a thing for roasting)

-gan- is a common element for many nouns denoting parts of the body.

mī'setu'nāga'n^t mustache, beard (*mīs-* hair, fuzz; *-tun-* mouth [§ 18], lips, and so the hair or thread-like arrangement about the mouth)

uwī'piga'n^t marrow (*-wīp-* form, length, and roundness vaguely implied)

u''kwāga'n^t neck (*-'kwā-* the space back of the neck [§ 18])

-nā- refers in a general way to place, and is used to denote an inhabited region or community.

Cā'wanō'inā'w^e Shawnee village (*Cā'wanō'w^a* a Shawnee)

Wācā'cinā'w^e Osage town (*Acāca* an Osage)

Ō'tcipwā'hinā'w^e Ojibwa country (*Ō'tcipwā'w^a* an Ojibwa)

With the locative ending *-g^t*, as *-nāg^t*, the meaning becomes more that of COUNTRY, LAND.

Acā'hinā'g^t in the country of the Sioux (*A'cā^a* a Sioux)

kī'gāpō'hinā'g^t in the Kickapoo country (*Kī'gāpō'w^a* a Kickapoo)

-gān- is another collective term for place. It refers especially to enclosures.

adā'wāgā'n^t store (*adāwā-* to sell, and so selling-place)

ase'nigā'n^t stone house (*A'sen^t* stone)

pa''kwāigā'n^t flag-reed lodge (*pa''kwa^t* flag-reed or flag-reed mat)

-in-, -win-, -wen-, -ān-, -wān-, -ōn-. There is one suffix that imparts an abstract meaning to a combination; it is analogous in meaning to *ā'wahī'n^t*, a demonstrative pronoun with an indefinite sense of vague reference, allusion, and having a close parallel to the colloquial "What d'ye call it?" The suffix appears in slightly varying forms, as *-in-, -win-, -wen-, -ān-, -wān-, -ōn-*.

A'papi'n^t chair, seat (*ap-* to sit, and so something to sit on)

kā'nawī'n^t word, talk, report (*kān-* to talk, and so something about talk)

- mā'tciwe'n'* food (*mā-* or *mīt-* to eat, and so something to eat)
pā'gān' hickory-nut (*pāg-* to hit, alight [§ 14], and so something to drop and hit)
pī'tanwā'n' quiver (*pī-* or *pīt-* to put into [§ 16]; *-an-* receptacle, and so an object to contain something inside)
wā'bāmō'n' mirror (*wāb-* to look at [same as *wāpā-*]; *-m-* [§ 21], and so something to look at)

These few examples are perhaps enough to give an idea of noun-structure. As in the verb, so in the noun, there is much the same general character of vague implication in the component parts when they stand alone. They offer no definite meaning by themselves: it is only as they enter into combination that they convey specific sense to the mind. The moment they fall into composition, they acquire the force of precise statement, which they hold within definite limits. The method of procedure is to advance progressively from one general notion to another, each qualifying the other, with the result of a constant trend toward greater specialization.

§ 25. Reduplication

Reduplication is common, and occurs in the initial stem. Many initial stems have more than one syllable; and, when reduplication takes place, it may be with the first syllable only, or it may include the syllable immediately following. This phase of the process can be observed from the examples that are to be shown. In the examples the reduplicated syllable will appear in Roman type. The vowel of the reduplication is often unlike the vowel of the syllable reduplicated.

Reduplication expresses—

1. Intensity of action.

kāgī'gānō'w^a he held the clan ceremony with great solemnity
tā'tageskawā'w^a he stamped him under foot (cf. § 21.3)

2. Customary action.

mā'micātesī'w^a he always went well dressed (*-si-* [§ 20])
wā'wī cāpenā'w^a he is always hungry (*-cā-* allied to *-cāwe-*; see *-si-* [§ 20])

3. Continuity of action.

pe'peskutäskä'w^a it (animate) keeps shedding hair of the body
mayo'mayō'w^a he kept on weeping

4. Repetition.

na'nagw^a he is constantly stopping on the way (*nagi-* [§ 16]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

pā'ka'pā'kanoskū'wⁱ it opens and closes alternately

5. Plurality, distribution.

kiski' 'skecā'w^a he cut off both ears (*-cā-* [§ 18])

sa'sāgigāci'nw^a he lay with both feet exposed (*sāgi-* [§ 16]; *-cin-* [§ 20])

mānemānemeg^u many a thing 112.11

sāsāgisegⁱ they stick out 284.14

nā'nesā'tcⁱ he killed many (animate objects) (*nes-* initial stem to KILL; *-āt^c* [§ 29])

nā'nūwisāwā'tcⁱ they came flying out one after the other (*nūwi-* out; *-isā-* [§ 19]; *ā* lengthened before *wāt^c* [§ 29]; *ā-* lacking)

mā'metāswitāciwā'gⁱ there were ten of them all together (*metāswi-* for *medāswⁱ* [§ 50]; *tāci-* [§ 16]; *-wagⁱ* [§ 28])

6. Duration.

pāpō'nīwā'gⁱ they made long stops on the journey (*pōni-* [§ 16]; *-wagⁱ* [§ 28])

wā'pawāpāmā'tcⁱ he looked at him a long time 116.6, cf. 278.2 (*-m-* [§ 21]; *-āt^c* [§ 29]; *ā-* lacking)

āhāpihāpitcⁱ he sat there a long while 116.6 (*ā—tcⁱ* [§ 29]; *-h-* glide [§ 8]; *āpi-* initial stem to SIT; *-h-* glide [§ 8])

7. Quantity, size.

mā'micine'kū'w^a he has a great deal of hair on the hand (*māc-* [§ 24 under *-min-*])

papā'gāhe'nwⁱ it is thin (*-wⁱ* [§ 28])

8. Onomatopoeia.

kāskā'skahā'mw^a he files it, he scrapes it (*-h-* [§ 21]; *-āmw^a* [§ 28])

The Verb (§§ 26-41)

§ 26. *Pronoun, Voice, and Mode*

It has been stated before (§ 14) that animate and inanimate gender are strictly distinguished, that there is a singular and a plural, and that the exclusive and the inclusive first person plural are distinguished. The former is associated with the forms of the first person singular; the latter, with those of the second person. Since both subject and object are expressed by incorporated pronominal forms, the intransitive verb and the transitive verb must be treated separately. Active, middle, and passive voice occur. The pronouns

take entirely different forms in different groups of modes. Three groups of modes may be distinguished,—the indicative, the subjunctive, and the potential,—to which may be added a fragmentary series of imperatives.

§ 27. *Tense*

The expression of tense by grammatical form is slightly developed. There is nothing in the simple form of the verb to mark the distinction between present and past time. It may express an act as in duration, as passing into a condition, or as momentary; but the time of the action, whether present or past, is to be inferred only from the context. This tense is referred to as aorist. It has its peculiar marks, which will be pointed out in the section on modes and pronominal forms. There may be said to be but one distinct grammatical tense, the future, which is indicated by the vowel *i* or the syllable *wī*. A fuller treatment of this tense will also be given further on.

The extreme lack of grammatical form to express tense must not be taken as an indication that the language is unable to make distinctions in the time of an action. On the contrary, stems of the initial class [§ 16] express great variety of temporal relations. Some of these relations are the notions of completion, with an implication of—

Past time.

kī'cipyā'w^a he has come (literally, he finishes the movement hither)

Frequency.

nahī'nāwā'w^a he frequently sees him, he used to see him, he kept seeing him

Continuity.

anemitā'penā'mw^a he is constantly taking it up with his hand

Incipency.

wā'piyā'w^a he began coming, he begins to come

Cessation.

pō'nipyā'w^a he no longer comes

Furthermore, temporal adverbs are used to express tense.

Present:

ne'py^a inug¹ I come now, I came to-day

§ 27

Future:

nī''py^awābag^e I shall come to-morrow

Past:

ne'py^aA'nāgō'w^e I came yesterday

Pronominal Forms (§§ 28-34)

§ 28. INDEPENDENT MODE

Aorist

	I	we excl.	we incl.	thou	ye	he [it]	they, animate; [they, inanimate]
Intransitive	<i>ne—</i>	<i>ne—pena</i>	<i>ke—pena</i>	<i>ke—</i>	<i>ke—pwa</i>	<i>(—wa [—wi])</i>	<i>—wagi [—ōni]</i>
me	—	—	—	<i>ke-i</i>	<i>ke-ipwa</i>	<i>ne-gwa</i>	<i>ne-gōgi</i>
us excl.	—	—	—	<i>ke-ipena</i>	<i>ke-ipena</i>	<i>ne-gundāna</i>	<i>ne-gundānagi</i>
us incl.	—	—	—	—	—	<i>ke-gundāna</i>	<i>ke-gundānagi</i>
thee	<i>ke-ne</i>	<i>ke-nepena</i>	—	—	—	<i>ke-gwa</i>	<i>ke-gōgi</i>
ye	<i>ke-nepwa</i>	<i>ke-nepena</i>	—	—	—	<i>ke-guōdwa</i>	<i>ke-guōdwagi</i>
him	<i>ne-āwa</i>	<i>ne-āpena</i>	<i>ke-āpena</i>	<i>ke-āwa</i>	<i>ke-āpwa</i>	<i>-āwa</i>	<i>-āwagi</i>
them	<i>ne-āwagi</i>	<i>ne-āpena</i>	<i>ke-āpena</i>	<i>ke-āwagi</i>	<i>ke-āpwa</i>	<i>-āwa</i>	<i>-āwagi</i>
it, them, inanimate	<i>ne-a</i>	<i>ne-āpena</i>	<i>ke-āpena</i>	<i>ke-a</i>	<i>ke-āpwa</i>	<i>-amwa</i>	<i>-amōgi</i>

In the line containing the intransitive verb the forms for animate subject, third person, are given in the first line; those for inanimate subject, in the second line. In the transitive verb no forms with inanimate subject occur.

The future forms have *nī* and *kī* as prefixes in place of *ne* and *ke*. The future of the intransitive has the prefix *wī*. No future forms of the transitive third person subject with third person object have been recorded.

[Such a form is *wīnesāw^a* HE SHALL SLAY IT (HIS DOG) 178.2. Observe *wī-* as prefix. It may be noted that intransitive futures occur without this prefix; for instance, *nī''py^a* (quoted § 27) I SHALL COME.—T. M.]

The following examples illustrate the use of the intransitive forms:

ne''py^a I come, I came (see *pyā* [§ 16])

nī''py^a I shall come 270.21

ke''py^a you come, you came

pyāw^a he comes, he came

hiw^a he says, he said 26.12, 14

pyā'migatwⁱ it comes, it came (*-migat-* of the inanimate is a secondary stem of a connective, and is a peculiarity of gender [see § 20])

§ 28

*pyāwag*¹ they came 22.14

pyä'pahōwag they come a-running 276.13 (*-pahō-* [§ 19])

The following examples illustrate the transitive forms:

kewāpamen^o I look at thee (*wāpa* initial stem TO LOOK AT; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; cf. also § 8 end)

kepyātcinānen^o I have come to fetch you away 50.1, 10 (*pyātc-* see under *pyä* [§ 16, also § 8]; *-nā-* to fetch; *-n-* instrumental particle [§ 21]; see also § 8)

kepyātciwāpamen^o I have come to visit thee 242.11

ketepānen^o I am fond of thee 314.4

kiwī'pumen^o I shall eat with you 252.4 (*wi-* [§ 16]; *-pu-* [§ 21]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37])

kihawihen^o I shall lend it to thee 302.8

kepyātōnepw^a I have brought to you 90.1 (*pyä-* [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-ō-* [§ 19])

kīnatomenepw^a I shall call you 356.16

nekusāw^a I fear him 366.2 (*-s-* [§ 21])

nēwāpamāw^a I look at him (*wāpa* and *m* as above)

nīnawihāw^a I am going to visit him 258.1 (*nawi-* to see; *h* for *hā* [*kīhā-pw*^a you shall go 356.15], or *-h-* [§ 21])

nīmāwīwāpamāw^a I shall go and visit him 230.22 (*māwi-* [§ 16]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; *nīmāwāpamāw*^a AT 260.12, 268.19 is the same form with loss of the syllable *wi* [cf. § 12])

*nēpyātcānānāwag*¹ I have come to take them away (*pyātc* for *pyātc-* [§ 16]; *-ā* [§ 19]; *nā* to fetch; *-n-* instrumental [§ 21])

*netenāwag*¹ I call them 330.6

*niwāpamāwag*¹ I shall see them 298.12 (a mild imperative, LET ME SEE THEM)

ne'wāpa^a I look at it (*-t-* [§§ 21, 37])

nēpyātcinānāpen^a we (excl.) have come to take him 58.8 (*pyātc-* [§§ 8, 16]; *nā* to fetch; *-n-* [§ 21])

nēnesāpen^a we (excl.) have slain him 160.4

kīmāwīwāpātāpen^a we (incl.) shall go look at it 284.8 (*māwi-* [§ 16]; *wāpa-* as above; *-t-* [§§ 21, 37])

ki'kiwīwāpātāpen^a we (incl.) are going on a journey to see it 338.7 (*kiwī-* an initial stem denoting indefinite motion; [cf. *kī-* § 16])

*ke'wāpa'm*¹ thou lookest at me (*-m-* [§§ 21, 37])

kīnesāpen^a we shall slay him 90.6 (a mild command)

*kiwāwāpamipena-tā*¹ thou wilt examine us (excl.) 290.23 (*wāwāpa* a reduplicated form of *wāpa-*; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]), a mild command

kewā'pamāw^a thou lookest at him

- kīneckimāw^a* thou wilt scold at him 284.4 (mild imperative)
kīpāgwiḥāw^a thou wilt run him off 284.5
kīḥināw^a thou wilt say to him 98.9, 382.12 (-*n-* is an inter-vocalic particle [see § 21])
kīwāpāmāwagi thou wilt see them (animate) 246.15
kītāpīhāwagi^t thou wilt make them happy 276.23
kewāpat^a thou lookest at it (-*t*- [§§ 21, 37])
newāpamegw^a he looked at me 368.19 (-*me-* [§§ 8, 21, 37])
kīnaganegunān^a he will leave us (incl. = thee and me) 178.18
pyānāw^a he brought (something alive) 58.5 (*pyā-* [§ 16]; -*n-* [§ 21])
kīyōmāw^a she carries it (her child) about on her back (*kī-* [§ 16]; -*y-* a glide [§ 8]; -*ō-* [§ 19]; -*m-* [§ 21])
kāskimā'w^a he succeeds in persuading him (*kāski-* [§ 16]; -*m-* [§ 21])
wāpatamw^a he looks at it
kāsihamw^a he erases it (*kāsi-* [§ 16]; -*h-* [§ 21])
netcāgimānihegōg^t they took everything I had 276.15 (*tcāgi-* [§ 16]; -*gōg* for -*gōg^t*)
kīpyānutāgōg^t they shall come to thee 348.2
kīwāpesīhihegōg^t they will set thee crazy 309.20
kīhamwahamwukōg^t they will often use thee for food 330.22
 (reduplication to express frequency [§ 25]; -*kōg^t* for -*gōg^t*; confusion of *k* and *g* [see § 3]; *amw-* initial stem TO EAT; *h* [both times] a glide [§ 8]; -*u-* to prevent -*wk-*)
kīhigōg^t they will call thee 110.9

When the initial stem of a verb begins with a vowel in the aorist, an intervocalic consonant -*t*- is inserted between pronoun and stem; in the future this insertion does not occur.

Aorist:

- ne'taw^t* I am, I remain; I was, I remained
ke'taw^t you are, you remain; you were, you remained
a'wiw^a he is, he remains; he was, he remained
awī'miga'tw^t it is, it remains; it was, it remained (for -*miga-t*- cf. § 20)

Future:

- nī'·a·w^t* I shall be, I shall remain
kī'·a·w^t you will be, you will remain
wī'·a·wī'w^a he will be, he will remain
wī'·a·wī'miga'tw^t it will be, it will remain

§ 29. CONJUNCTIVE, AORIST AND FUTURE; SUBJUNCTIVE, PRESENT AND PAST

	I	we excl.	we incl.	thou	ye	he	they	sing. and plur. inanimate
Intransitive . . .	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{yāni} \\ \text{-yāne} \\ \text{-yāne'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-yāge} \\ \text{-yāge} \\ \text{-yāge'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-yāgue} \\ \text{-yāgue} \\ \text{-yāgu'a} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-yāni} \\ \text{-yāne} \\ \text{-yāne'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-yāgue} \\ \text{-yāgue} \\ \text{-yāgu'a} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-lāci} \\ \text{-lāci} \\ \text{-lā'e} \\ \text{-lā'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-lāci} \\ \text{-lāci} \\ \text{-lā'e} \\ \text{-lā'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-ki} \\ \text{-ke} \\ \text{-ke'e} \end{Bmatrix}$
me	—	—	—	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-iyāni} \\ \text{-iyāne} \\ \text{-iyāne'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-iyāgue} \\ \text{-iyāgue} \\ \text{-iyāgu'a} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-lāci} \\ \text{-lā'e} \\ \text{-lā'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-lāci} \\ \text{-lā'e} \\ \text{-lā'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	—
us excl.	—	—	—	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-iyāge} \\ \text{-iyāge} \\ \text{-iyāge'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-iyāgue} \\ \text{-iyāgue} \\ \text{-iyāgu'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-iyāmaeci} \\ \text{-iyāmaeci} \\ \text{-iyāmaeci} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-iyāmaeci} \\ \text{-iyāmaeci} \\ \text{-iyāmaeci} \end{Bmatrix}$	—
us incl.	—	—	—	—	—	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-nāgue} \\ \text{-nāgue} \\ \text{-nāgu'a} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-nāgue} \\ \text{-nāgue} \\ \text{-nāgu'a} \end{Bmatrix}$	—
those	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-nāni} \\ \text{-nāne} \\ \text{-nāne'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-nāge} \\ \text{-nāge} \\ \text{-nāge'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	—	—	—	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-nāgu'a} \\ \text{-nāgu'a} \\ \text{-nāgu'a} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-nāgu'a} \\ \text{-nāgu'a} \\ \text{-nāgu'a} \end{Bmatrix}$	—
ye	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-nāpōne} \\ \text{-nāpōne} \\ \text{-nāpōne'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-nāpōge} \\ \text{-nāpōge} \\ \text{-nāpōge'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	—	—	—	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-nāpōne} \\ \text{-nāpōne} \\ \text{-nāpōne} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-nāpōne} \\ \text{-nāpōne} \\ \text{-nāpōne} \end{Bmatrix}$	—
him, them . . .	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āgi} \\ \text{-āge} \\ \text{-āge'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āgici} \\ \text{-āgici} \\ \text{-āgici'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āgue} \\ \text{-āgue} \\ \text{-āgu'a} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āci} \\ \text{-āci} \\ \text{-āci'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āgue} \\ \text{-āgue} \\ \text{-āgu'a} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āci} \\ \text{-āci} \\ \text{-āci'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āci} \\ \text{-āci} \\ \text{-āci'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	—
t, them, inanimate	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āmāni} \\ \text{-āmāne} \\ \text{-āmāne'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āmāge} \\ \text{-āmāge} \\ \text{-āmāge'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āmāgue} \\ \text{-āmāgue} \\ \text{-āmāgu'a} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āmāni} \\ \text{-āmāne} \\ \text{-āmāne'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āmāgue} \\ \text{-āmāgue} \\ \text{-āmāgu'a} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āmāci} \\ \text{-āmāci} \\ \text{-āmāci'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ā-} \\ \text{wā-} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{-āmāci} \\ \text{-āmāci} \\ \text{-āmāci'e} \end{Bmatrix}$	—

The indicative negative has the same form as the conjunctive with the negative, which replaces *ä* and *wī*. All the endings have *i* as terminal vowel (never *e*), and take the additional suffix *-ni*.

[It is likely that *ä* and the *i* of *wī* are aspirated vowels. This would account for the regular conversion of *k*, *p*, *t*, to 'k', 'p', 't', after them; and also for the insertion of *h* after them and before a vowel. The elements *nī-* and *kī-* have a similar effect (see § 28).—T. M.]

Intransitive forms:

- wīnōwīyān*¹ I shall go out 320.20 (conj. fut.)
*wī'pyāyān*¹ I shall then come 296.21 (conj. fut.)
*wī'penuyān*¹ I am going home 256.14, 258.23 (conj. fut.)
*wīnāgwāyān*¹ I shall go (conj. fut.)
ä'pyāyāg^o when we (excl.) came (conj. aor.)
wī'i'cimenwipemātesiyāg^o that we (excl.) may have good health (conj. fut.)
ä'pyāyāgw^o when we (incl.) came (conj. aor.)
*āhiyān*¹ when thou saidst 116.20 (conj. aor.)
*wīnepeyan*¹ thou wilt die 296.20 (conj. fut.)
*wīwāpāmoyān*¹ thou hadst better flee for thy life 98.5 (conj. fut.; *wāp-* [§ 16]; *-ā-* [§ 19]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; *-o-* [§ 40])
*wī'ā'tcimoyān*¹ that thou talkest 322.16 (conj. fut.; *-m-* *-o-* [§§ 21, 40])
*wīhīnāmoyān*¹ thou shouldst flee 98.8 (conj. fut.)
pemāmoyān^o in thy flight 98.5 (subj. pres.)
kīcipyūtōyān^o when thou hast brought (it) here 320.20 (subj. pres.; *kīci-* *pyä-* [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-o-* [§ 19])
wāpikāwusāyān^o start and take another step 128.18 (subj. pres.; *wāpi-* [§ 16]; *-usä-* [§ 19])
pyā'yān^o if you should come 320.4 (subj. pres.)
*ä'pemiwāpāmūtē*¹ then he started to begin to flee 154.10 (conj. aor.; *pemi-* *wāpi-* [§ 16]; *-ā-m-u-* [§§ 19, 37, 40])
*ä'pemusātē*¹ then he walked along 104.19 (conj. aor.; *pem-* for *pemi-* [§ 16] before vowel; *-usä-* [§ 19])
*āhītē*¹ then he said 48.21; 58.26, 27; 114.2, 9; 118.21, 23 (conj. aor.)
*ä'kīyusātē*¹ then he walked about 252.17 (conj. aor.; *kī-y-usä-* [§§ 16, 8, 19])
*ānāgwātē*¹ then he started away 240.19 (conj. aor.)
*äpyātē*¹ then he came 326.22 (conj. aor.)
*ä'penūtē*¹ then he went away 326.2 (conj. aor.)
pyānit^o should he come 156.21 (subj. pres.)
pītiģātē^o that he entered 18.4 (subj. past)
*wī'pyānitē*¹ when he would come 298.11 (conj. fut.; *-ni-* [§ 34]).

- āhanemiwāpusāwāt*^c they continued to start off on a walk 108.8
 (conj. aor.; *hanemiwāp-* [*wāpi-*] *-usā-* [§§ 16, 19])
ā'kīyusāwāt^c they tramped about 136.14 (*kī-y-usā-* [§§ 16, 8, 19])
ā'pyāwāt^c when they came 120.7, 166.22 (conj. aor.)
ā'pōnāwāt^c then they halted to camp 166.13 (conj. aor.; *pōni-*
 [§ 16])
ānagīwāt^c they halted 166.7 (conj. aor.; *nagi* [§ 16])
ānepāwāt^c they slept 334.19 (conj. aor.)
ā'penuwāt^c then they went away 334.19 (conj. aor.)
wī'pemāmuwāt^c then it was their purpose to begin to flee (conj.
 fut.; *pem-ā-m-u-* [§§ 16, 19, 21, 37, 40])

Transitive forms:

- wītacīnesag*ⁱ I shall kill her 102.1 (conj. fut.; *nes-* to kill)
āgwītā wīnesenānīn^t I do not mean to kill thee 54.23 (conj. fut.;
-n^t negative suffix)
*āwāwītamawīyan*ⁱ when you (singular) taunted me about him
 330.16 (conj. aor.)
*ā'ā'camīyan*ⁱ you (singular) gave them to me to eat (conj. aor.)
wīpāpāgamenāg^e we (excl.) shall now club you to death 160.6
 (conj. fut.; *pāpāga-* reduplicated form of a stem allied to
pāg[ī]- [§§ 14, 20]; *-me-* [§§ 8, 21])
neciyan^e if thou slay me 54.21 (subj. pres.; *nes-*, *nec-* to slay [see §9])
wīhāwānāt^c wilt thou carry them away? 54.21 (conj. fut.)
wīketeminawīyāgw^e that ye will bless me 380.7 (conj. fut.)
āwāpāmāt^c he looked at her 298.20 (conj. aor.; *-tc* for *-tc*^t before
 a vowel)
ā'kusāt^c he feared him 366.22 (conj. aor.; *-s-* [§ 21.7])
ā'hīnāt^c he said to him (her) 240.16, 290.18 (conj. aor.; *-n-* [§ 21])
ā'kīcīnesāt^c after she had slain (an animate object) 254.19 (conj.
 aor.; *kīci-* [§ 16]; *nes-* to slay)
āwī'pumāt^c he then ate with them 296.8 (conj. aor.; *wī-pu-m-*
 [§§ 16, 21, 37])
ā'kaskīmāt^c she succeeded in persuading her 102.6 (conj. aor.;
kaski-m- [§§ 16, 21]; *-tc* for *-tc*^t before a vowel)
āpyātōhwāt^c he then fetched (an animate object) 266.15 (conj.
 aor.; *pyā-t-ō-hw-* [§§ 16, 8, 19, 21])
*āwāpātAg*ⁱ he then looked at (the inanimate thing) 222.22, 248.3
 (conj. aor.; *-t-* [§§ 21, 37])
*nā'kākōgenAg*ⁱ she also washed it 178.21 (conj. aor.; *nā'ka* also,
 again; *-a* lost before *ā-*; *kōg-n-* [§§ 8, 16, 21])
*āpemwutAg*ⁱ so he shot at (the inanimate object) 252.19 (conj.
 aor.; *-t-* [§§ 21, 37])
āwāpācimiwāt^c when they poke fun at me 322.12 (conj. aor.;
wāpā to look at)

*inācinatutamuk'*¹ thus they begged of thee 382.14 (conj. aor.)

*ānesāwātē*¹ then they killed him 294.8, 296.2 (conj. aor.)

*āhināwātē*¹ then they told him 32.5 (conj. aor.; -*n*- [§ 21])

*nāwāwātē*⁰ should they see them 192.11 (subj. pres.)

[It would seem that under some conditions *ā-* and *wi-* may be used with the subjunctive (see § 35.4). Examples are:

*ā'pōnīwātē*⁰ when they had camped 96.2 (pronominal form of subjunctive past)

*wīwāpāmūtē*⁰ it was his purpose to flee 218.14 (pronominal form of subjunctive past; *wāp-ā-m-u-* [§§ 16, 19, 21, and 37, 40])

*wīmītcitē*⁰ she would have eaten 96.3

*wīpemwage*⁰ I would have shot it 254.20

—T. M.]

§ 30. POTENTIAL, POTENTIAL SUBJUNCTIVE, AND PROHIBITIVE.¹

	I	we excl.	we incl.	thou	ye	he	they	sing. and plur. inanimate
Intransitive . . .	{ -'kə'a - 'kə'a - 'ka *	{ -'kəp'e - 'kəp'e - 'kəp'e	{ -'kəp'e - 'kəp'e - 'kəp'e	{ -'kəp'a - 'kəp'a - 'kəp'a	{ -'kəp'u - 'kəp'u - 'kəp'u	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i
me	—	—	—	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'u - 'kəp'u - 'kəp'u	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i
us excl.	—	—	—	{ -'kəp'e - 'kəp'e - 'kəp'e	{ -'kəp'u - 'kəp'u - 'kəp'u	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i
us incl.	—	—	—	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'u - 'kəp'u - 'kəp'u	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i
thee	{ -'kəp'a - 'kəp'a - 'kəp'a	{ -'kəp'e - 'kəp'e - 'kəp'e	{ -'kəp'e - 'kəp'e - 'kəp'e	{ -'kəp'a - 'kəp'a - 'kəp'a	{ -'kəp'u - 'kəp'u - 'kəp'u	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i
ye.	{ -'kəp'a - 'kəp'a - 'kəp'a	{ -'kəp'e - 'kəp'e - 'kəp'e	{ -'kəp'e - 'kəp'e - 'kəp'e	{ -'kəp'a - 'kəp'a - 'kəp'a	{ -'kəp'u - 'kəp'u - 'kəp'u	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i
him, them, animate	{ -'kəp'a - 'kəp'a - 'kəp'a	{ -'kəp'e - 'kəp'e - 'kəp'e	{ -'kəp'e - 'kəp'e - 'kəp'e	{ -'kəp'a - 'kəp'a - 'kəp'a	{ -'kəp'u - 'kəp'u - 'kəp'u	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i
it, them, inanimate	{ -'kəp'a - 'kəp'a - 'kəp'a	{ -'kəp'e - 'kəp'e - 'kəp'e	{ -'kəp'e - 'kəp'e - 'kəp'e	{ -'kəp'a - 'kəp'a - 'kəp'a	{ -'kəp'u - 'kəp'u - 'kəp'u	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i	{ -'kəp'i - 'kəp'i - 'kəp'i

¹ The first form is the potential; the second, the potential subjunctive; the third, the prohibitive.

Apparently these forms are distantly related to the other dependent modes. This appears clearly in the forms for the third person animate, exclusive, inclusive, and second person plural. The character of most of the potential forms is *-k-*. Examples are—

näsä'kap^a you (sing.) would have come back to life 116.17 (potential)

mānāhiyūkap^a you (sing.) would have much of it (potential)

kīyāwami'kanⁱ you (sing.) might be jealous of me 216.15 (*kīyāwa* jealous; *-m-* [§ 21]; potential)

inenagā'a I should have said to thee 314.3 (potential)

ugimāwis^a he would have become chief 26.16 (potential subjunctive)

nesegus^a he would have been killed 168.13 (*nes-* initial stem TO KILL; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41]; potential subjunctive)

mīciyāgāgu^a you (pl.) might give to him (potential subjunctive) 32.11

kāt^a aiyāpami 'ai'yohipyā'kanⁱ thou shalt not return to this place again 146.20 (prohibitive; *-pyā-* from *pyā-* [§ 16]); *aiyō[']* here; *aiyāpami* back)

kāta kuse'kyä'kāk^u be ye not afraid 190.21 (prohibitive; *-'kak^u* for *-'kag^u*; confusion of *-g-* and *k* [§ 3]; *-se-* [§§ 8, 21])

kāta nūwī'käg^u do not go out 12.4 (prohibitive; *nūwī* initial stem OUT)

kāta, nesīmāhetigä, sāpigwä'kaku don't, oh my little brothers, peep 282.4, 6, 8, 10 (prohibitive; *-ku* for *-gu*)

kāta wīn^a sāpigwä'kitci let no one of you peep 280.25 (prohibitive)

kāta natawāpi'kanⁱ thou shalt not try to peep at me 118.10 (prohibitive; *-wāp-* for *wāpa* LOOK AT)

kāta, nī'kā'ne, asāmihi'kanⁱ don't, my friend, be too cruel with me 330.17 (prohibitive)

kāt^a ātciimi'käg^e ye shall not tell on us (excl.) 152.10 (prohibitive)

kāta wīna natawāpi'kitc uwiya^a none of you shall try to look at me 280.19 (prohibitive; *wāp* for *wāpa*)

§ 31. IMPERATIVE

	we excl.	thou	ye	he	they
Intransitive	-tāwe	-nū'	-gu'	-tce	-wātce
me	—	-inu	-ku	-lice	-wātce
us excl.	—	-inage	-ināge	-iyametce	-iyametce
us incl.	—	—	—	-nagutce	-nagutce
thee	—	—	—	-netce	-netci
ye	—	—	—	-nowatce	-nowatce
him, them, animate . . .	-āwāwe	-i	-ku	wi-āci	wi-āwāci
				-lice	-āwālice
it, them, inanimate . . .	-āwāwe	-anu	-amu'ku	wi-agi	wi-āmowāci
				-lice	-āmowālice

It will be noted that in the third person these forms are similar to those of the subjunctive, except that *-tce* is found when the subjunctive substitutes *-te*.

pyā'tāwe let us come (from *pyā-* [§ 16])

pyā'nu or *pyānu'* come thou 304.17

tetepusān^u walk thou in a circle 376.12 (*tetep-* [§ 16]; *-usā-* [§ 19])

nuwīnu out of doors with you 292.15 (*nuwī-* out)

kīyusān^u walk thou about 300.2 (*kī-* [§ 16]; *-y* [§ 8]; *-usā-* [§ 19])

hawin^u stay thou 42.21

*hapi*ⁿ sit down 28.3 (*api-* initial stem to SIT; *h-* really belongs to *aiyō*)

pyā'gu or *pyāgu'* come ye

hawik^u remain ye 48.23 (confusion of *k* and *g*)

nāgwāku begone 58.13

māwinanegō^u go ye in pursuit 358.24 (*māwi-* [§ 16]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-gō*^u for *-gu* [§ 6])

pyātce^o let him come

pyāwātce^o let them come

wāpamin^u look thou at me 322.3 (*wāpa-* to look at; *-m-* [§ 21])

pōnimi speak thou no more to him 56.3 (*pōni-* [§ 16]; *-m-* [§ 21])

māwinatumi ask him to come 366.19, 368.2 (*māwi-* [§ 16])

wāpame'ku look ye at him 242.19 (*wāpa-*; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8])

[In *āpinahwināge* OPEN IT AND SET US (excl.) FREE 290.22 *-nāge* is a palpable error for *-nāge*, for the subject is THOU.—T. M.]

§ 32. THE INTERROGATIVE MODE

There is an interrogative mode that plays the rôle of an indirect question. It has some points in common with the conjunctive mode; it is a subordinate mode; it makes use of the syllabic augments *ā* and *wī* to express indefinite and future tenses; it has a com-

§§ 31, 32

plete set of pronominal forms from which, in turn, are derived others that are used to express further degrees of subordination. The forms are as follows:

Interrogative Conjunctive, Aorist and Future

	Singular		Plural
1st per.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \begin{matrix} \\ \end{matrix} \right\} w\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}ni$	Exclu.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \begin{matrix} \\ \end{matrix} \right\} w\ddot{a}g\ddot{a}ni$
		Incl.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \begin{matrix} \\ \end{matrix} \right\} w\ddot{a}g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}ni$
2d per.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \begin{matrix} \\ \end{matrix} \right\} w\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}ni$	2d per.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \begin{matrix} \\ \end{matrix} \right\} w\ddot{a}g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}ni$
3d per. an.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \begin{matrix} \\ \end{matrix} \right\} g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}ni$	3d per. an.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \begin{matrix} \\ \end{matrix} \right\} g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}h\ddot{ig}i$
3d per. inan.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \begin{matrix} \\ \end{matrix} \right\} g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}ni$	3d per. inan.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \begin{matrix} \\ \end{matrix} \right\} g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}h\ddot{i}ni$

These forms appear in various connections. An example of a future is—

wiwäpipemutiwagwän^t when we shall begin shooting at each other 20.12 (indirect question; *wäpi-* [§ 16]; *pemu-* in *äwäpipemutiwätc^t* then they began shooting at each other 20.14; cf. *nī^tpemwāw^a* I am going to shoot at him 248.14; *-ti-* reciprocal [§ 38])

Three of those used for the aorist will be shown. One is an indirect question after an imperative statement.

kīnanātucäpwa^a ä^t 'cisenogwäⁿ^t you should inquire how the affair stood

Another is in an indirect question after a declarative, negative statement.

ägwinōtägäyānīn^t äcisowanän^t I did not learn what their name was

A third use is in the salutation of a first meeting after a long absence.

ä^tpyāwanän^t! and so thou hast come!

Without *ä*, this interrogative appears in

ägwi meckwähäw^a näwägwin^t did you not see a red swan 80.5, 16; 82.6 (*nä-* to see [§ 16]; *-wägwi* [§ 32]; *-n^t* [§ 29])

[No transitive forms are given in the above table for the interrogative subjunctive. Note, however,

nesägwäni (somebody) must have killed him 66.7

This is a form of this class; \bar{a} corresponds to \bar{a} of $\bar{a}w^a$ in this independent mode; $-gw\bar{a}n^s$ as in the table; but \bar{a} - is lacking.—T. M.]

The subjunctive of the indirect question omits the temporal prefix, and has throughout final $-e$ instead of $-i$ ($-w\bar{a}n\bar{a}ne$, $-gw\bar{a}hine$, etc.).

[$n\bar{a}s\bar{a}gw\bar{a}n^s$ SOMEBODY SLEW HIM 26.15 (the change of the stem vowel e to \bar{a} as in the participial $n\bar{a}s\bar{a}t^s$ HE THAT SLEW HIM 26.13) should be noted.—T. M.]

§ 33. PARTICIPIALS

	I	we excl.	we incl.	thou
Intransitive	$-y\bar{a}ni$	$-y\bar{a}ge$	$-y\bar{a}gwe$	$-y\bar{a}ni$
me	—	—	—	$-iy\bar{a}ni$
us excl.	—	—	—	$-iy\bar{a}ge$
us incl.	—	—	—	—
thee	$-n\bar{a}ni$	$-n\bar{a}ge$	—	—
ye	$-n\bar{a}g\bar{o}we$	$-n\bar{a}ge$	—	—
him	$-Aga$	$-Ageta$	$-Agwa$	$-A\bar{a}ta$
them, an. . . .	$-Agigi$	$-Agetcigi$	$-Agwigi$	$-A\bar{a}tcigi$
it	$-Am\bar{a}ni$	$-Am\bar{a}ge$	$-Amagwe$	$-Am\bar{a}ni$
them, inan. . .	$-Am\bar{a}nini$	$-Am\bar{a}gini$	$-Amagwini$	$-Am\bar{a}nini$

	ye	he	they, an.	it	they, inan.
Intransitive	$-y\bar{a}gwe$	$-ta$	$-tcigi$	$-miga'ki$	$-miga'kini$
me	$-iy\bar{a}gwe$	$-ita$	$-itcigi$	$-gwiya\bar{a}ni$	$-gwiya\bar{a}nini$
us excl.	$-iy\bar{a}ge$	$-iya\bar{m}eta$	$-iya\bar{m}etcigi$	$-gwiya\bar{a}ge$	$-gwiya\bar{a}gini$
us incl.	—	$-nagwa$	$-nagwigi$	$-gwiya\bar{a}gwe$	$-gwiya\bar{a}gwini$
thee	—	$-ka$	$-kigi$	$-gwiya\bar{a}ni$	$-gwiya\bar{a}nini$
ye	—	$-n\bar{a}gwa$	$-n\bar{a}gwigi$	$-gwiya\bar{a}gwe$	$-gwiya\bar{a}gwini$
him	$-\bar{a}gwa$	$-\bar{a}ta$	$-\bar{a}tcigi$	$-gwi\bar{a}ci$	$-gwi\bar{a}tcini$
them, an. . . .	$-\bar{a}gwigi$	$-\bar{a}ta$	$-\bar{a}tcigi$	$-gwi\bar{a}tcici$	$-gwi\bar{a}tcini$
it	$-Am\bar{a}gwe$	$-Aga$	$-Agigi$	$-Am\bar{o}miga'ki$	$-Am\bar{o}miga'kini$
them, inan. . .	$-Am\bar{a}gwini$	$-Agini$	$-Agigi$	$-Am\bar{o}miga'ki$	$-Am\bar{o}miga'kini$

It may be well to point out here some of the differences between the participle and the conjunctive verb. In the first place, the participle lacks the temporal augment \bar{a} to denote indefinite tense. In the second place, the vowel of the first syllable of the initial stem undergoes change; this, however, is not always maintained if the vowel be i , o , or u . Finally, as observed from the table, the singular of the third person animate intransitive ends in $-ta$, the plural of the same person and gender ends in $-tcigi$, and the ending of the plural of the third person inanimate is $-miga'kini$ instead of $-miga'ki$. Some

of these differences can be seen from a comparison of a few participles with their related conjunctives:

- ä'h_{AN}emihā'tc' when he went yon way
 äne'mihā't^a he who went yon way
 ä'nemihā'tcig' they who went yon way
 ä'nemihāmiga'ki'n' they (the stones) that went yon way
 ä'pe'me'kā'tc' when he passed by
 pä'me'kā't^a he who passed by
 ä'hutci'tc' when he came from thence
 wä'tci't^a he who came from thence
 wä'tci'miga'ki'n' they (the things) that came from thence
 ä'ki'witā'tc' when he staid around them
 kiwi'tātcig' they who staid about them
 kiwi'tāmiga'ki'ni they (the things) that remained about
 pämine'ka'watcig' they that chase 70 TITLE (stem-vowel *e*)
 mä'kadāwīt^a he who was fasting 186 TITLE (stem-vowel *a*)
 mänwānetag^a he who preferred it 136.5 (stem-vowel *e*) [ending
 -ag^a for -Ag^a—T. M.]
 wāpināgwāt^a the white-eyed one 150.1 (stem-vowel *ā*)
 tāpānat^a the one whom you love 150.1 (stem-vowel *e*)
 wānimāt^a the one whom he had forsaken 150.7 (stem-vowel *i*)
 nāsāt^a he that slew him 26.13, 17 (stem-vowel *e*)
 tcāgānātowātcig' they of every language 22.14 (tcāg for tcāgi
 [§ 16])
 mī'kemātcig they who had been making love to her 46.5 (mī'k-
 [§ 16]; -e- [§ 8]; -m- [§ 21])

The transitive pronominal forms differ most widely where the third person is involved in the subject. The transitive participle of the third person sometimes has the force of a possessive construction combined with that of an objective. Its sense is then more of the nature of a noun. Its pronominal endings are slightly different, as can be seen from the table.

	he	they
him	-ātcini	-āwātcini
them	-ātcī'	-āwātcī'
it	-Agī	-Amowātcī
them	-Agini	-Amowātcini

These forms occur in situations like these:

- tcīnarwā'mātcī'n' his relative; viz., one to whom he is related
 (-m- [§ 21])

tcīna'wā'ta'g' his object of relation; viz., a thing to which he is bound by a tie (-*t*- [§ 21])
tcīnawāmā'wātcī'n' their relative
tcīnawā'ta'mowā'tc' their object of relation
wāpamā'wātcī'' the animate objects of his view; viz., the animate objects at which he is looking (*wāpa*- to see; -*m*- [§ 21])
wāpa'tagi'n' the inanimate objects of his view (-*t*- [§ 21])
wītāmā'wātcī'' their companions; viz., ones with whom they were in company (*wī*- [§ 16])
wītā'tamowātcī'n' their accompaniments
wītāmātcīn' he who accompanied him 70.14 (full analysis, note 23, p. 869; translation in Fox Texts not accurate)
pyānātcīn' she whom he had brought
pāgamemetcīn' he who was being hit 26.25 (from *pāg*- [§ 14])

§ 34. THIRD PERSON ANIMATE

The third person animate, singular and plural, has two forms. The first of these forms is *-tcī* for the singular, *-wātcī* for the plural; the second is *-nitcī* for both singular and plural. The latter form is used in two cases. One is syntactic, and occurs when the dependent verb is subordinate to a principal verb. The other is psychological, and occurs when the subject of the dependent verb plays a less important rôle than the subject of another verb; it is a frequent construction in narration. The subjective noun of the dependent verb takes on an objective ending *-wāni* for the singular, and *-wā'i* or *ha'i* for the plural.

ā'pyātc' ā'pyāni'tc' when he came the other was arriving
ō'ni ne'gute'nw' ā'nāgwā'tc' . . . kā'geyā'' ā'pyāni'tc' so then once went he away . . . then by and by here came another
ite'pihā'wā āha'wīni'tc' i'kwāwā'n' he went over to the place where the woman was
ugi'māwā'g' ā'pīti'gāwā'tc', ō'ni uskina'wāha'' ānū'wīni'tc' the chiefs then went inside, and thereupon the youths came on out

The same thing happens to a transitive verb in the same relation. The change takes place with the form representing the subject, but the form representing the object remains unchanged. The change occurs when the subject of a dependent verb becomes the object of a principal verb. The subjective noun of the dependent verb has the objective ending *-ani* in the singular, and *-a'i* in the plural. In the following examples, the first two show the construction with an intransitive dependent verb, and the next two show the construction with a transitive verb.

wá'pamä'wä ine'niwa'n' ä'pyāni'tc' he watched the man come
wá'pamä'wä ine'niwa'' ä'pyāni'tc' he watched the men come
wá'pamä'wä ine'niwa'n' äne'sāni'tc' *pecege'siwa'n'* he watched the
 man kill a deer
nä'wäwä ine'niwa'' äwāpa'māni'tc' *ne'niwa'n' ānesānitc'* *pecege'-*
siwa'n' he beheld the men looking at a man killing a deer

In the third example, *ā* in *āne'sāni'tc'* refers to *pecege'siwa'n'*, the object that was slain. In the fourth example, *ā* in *āwāpa'māni'tc'* refers to *ne'niwa'n'*, the object looked at by the plural *ine'niwa''*; *ne'niwa'n'*, in turn, becomes the subject of *āne'sāni'tc'*, and *pecege'siwa'n'* is the object.

[Dr. Jones is slightly mistaken regarding *-nitci* in transitive forms. From the Fox Texts I can make two deductions: namely, that when the object is the third person animate, the form is *-ānitci* (as Dr. Jones also saw); when third person inanimate, the form is *-aminiti* (with *-aminiti* as a variant). The *-ā-* of *-ānitci* is the same pronominal element to be seen in *ā-āwātc'* (§ 29), etc.; while *-ami-* is related to *am-* in *-amwa* (§ 28); *amo* in *ā-Amowātc'* (§ 29); *-Amō-* *-Amaw-* of the double object, etc. Contrast *ā'tcāgamānitc'* THEN THEY ATE IT ALL (animate) 294.10 (*ā-nitc'* [§ 29]; *tcāg-* for *tcāgi-* TOTALITY [§ 16] by contraction [§ 10]; *am-* for *amw-* TO EAT [§ 16] by elision [§ 12]) with *kā'kāwataminic'* THEY CRUNCHED THEM (bones: inanimate) 294.10 (*kā-* reduplication [§ 25]; *kāwa-* TO CRUNCH [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 21]; *ā-* dropped [§ 12]). And observe *nā'kā'tcāgamāwāt'* AGAIN THEY ATE IT (animate) ALL 296.3 (for *nā'ka* AGAIN *ā-* [§ 10]; *ā-āwāwāt'* [§ 29]) and *ā'kākāwatamowāt'* THEN THEY CRUNCHED THEM (bones: inanimate) 296.5 (*ā-Amowāt'* [§ 29]), where no change in the third person subject occurs. Note also *ōnāmenataminic'* THEN THEY VOMITED THEM (inanimate) 294.13 (for *ōn'-ā-*), but *āmemenatamowāt'* THEN THEY VOMITED THEM (inanimate) 296.6 (for *ā-Amowāt'* [§ 29]). Further compare *ā'a'tā'penaminic'* 172.19, *ā'a'dā'penaminic'* 172.16, THEN HE TOOK IT IN HIS HAND (*ā'dāp-*, *a'tāp-* initial stem; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21]) with *ā'a'dā'penag'* THEN HE TOOK IT 172.5 (*ā-Ag'* [§ 29]; *ā'a'tāpenag'* 174.15 is a variant; *inā'a'dā'penag'* 172.12 is for *in'ā-*). See also 22.23; 68.13; 150.15, 17; 160.18; 166.19; 172.14, 17; 174.8; 188.21; 244.14; 348.18, 22, 23. This *ami* is also to be seen in an interrogative verbal form (§ 32); namely, *ā'tan-wātaminigwān'* 340.11, 17. The inserted *-ni-* is also noteworthy. The analysis of this is *ā-gwān'* (§ 32); *tan-* TO ENGAGE IN (§ 16); *wā* SOUND (§ 20). HE SOUNDED IT (i. e., his voice) OUT is a close rendering.

It should be observed that the same device of inserting *-ni-* is used in the subjunctive; e. g., *pyānit'* 156.21 SHOULD HE CHANCE TO COME.—T. M.]

Use of the Possessed Noun as Subject of a Verb

An independent verb with the possessed noun of the third person used as the subject changes the form of its pronominal ending from *-wa* to *-niwan^t* in the singular and from *-waq^t* to *-niwa^t* in the plural. The change is one of concord between the subject and the verb.

utanemō'hemaⁿ'n^t pyä'niwaⁿ'n^t his dog comes

utanemōhe'mwāwaⁿ'n^t pyä'niwaⁿ'n^t their dog comes

utanemō'hema^t'n^t pyä'niwa^t'n^t his dogs come

utanemōhe'mwāwa^t'n^t pyä'niwa^t'n^t their dogs come

The next set of examples are of the independent transitive verb. It is to be noted that the change of the pronominal ending concerns only the one representing the subject; the one standing for the object remains the same.

utanemō'hemaⁿ'n^t wā'pamāniwaⁿ'n^t ma''hwāwaⁿ'n^t his dog looked at the wolf (*ā* in *wā'pamāniwaⁿ'n^t* is an objective sign, and refers to *ma''hwāwaⁿ'n^t*, the object of the verb)

utanemō'hema^t'n^t wā'pamāniwa^t'n^t ma''hwāwa^t'n^t his dogs watched the wolves

If the object of the verb become in turn the subject of a dependent clause, it will still keep its objective form; but its verb will be of the dependent group. The object of the main verb will be represented as subject of the dependent verb by *-nitci* (*ni* in *-nitci* is the same as *ni* in *-niwan^t*). As in the case of the independent verb, so in that of the dependent verb, the sign of the object is unmodified.

utanemō'hemaⁿ'n^t wāpamāniwaⁿ'n^t ine'niwaⁿ'n^t āne'sāni'tc^t ma''hwāwaⁿ'n^t his dog looked at the man who was killing the wolf (*ā* in *āne'sāni'tc^t* refers to *ma''hwāwaⁿ'n^t*, the object that was killed; and *nitci* in the same verb refers to *ine'niwaⁿ'n^t*, the subject who did the killing; the verb is of the conjunctive mode).

If the verb of the possessed subject contain a dependent clause with object, it will keep the singular *-niwan^t*, even though the possessed subject be plural.

utanemōhe'mwāwa^t'n^t wā'pamāniwaⁿ'n^t ma''hwāwaⁿ'n^t ā'pemine-ka''wāni'tc^t kō'kō'cāhaⁿ'n^t their dogs looked at the wolf chasing the pig

utanemōhe'mwāwa^t'n^t wā'pamāniwaⁿ'n^t ma''hwāwa^t'n^t ā'pemine-ka''wāni'tc^t kō'kō'cāha^t'n^t their dogs watched the wolves chasing the pigs

There is also a peculiarity of construction belonging to the possessed inanimate noun of the third person when used as the subject of an intransitive verb. The pronominal ending representing the subject of the independent verb is changed from *-w^t* to *-niw^t* in the singular, and from *-ōn^t* to *-niwan^t* in the plural. These peculiarities can be observed from an illustration of an independent intransitive verb.

utA'seni'm^t pyä'migateni'w^t his stone comes this way

utase'nimA'n^t pyämigate'niwA'n^t his stones come hitherward

The construction is not so simple with a transitive verb. If the verb takes an object which in turn becomes the subject of a subordinate clause, then its pronominal subject becomes *-niwan^t* for both the singular and the plural.

utA'seni'm^t mecugwi'niwA'n^t ne'niwA'n^t ä'pemine'ka'wāni'tc^t
i'kwāwa'n^t his stone hit the man who was chasing the woman

utase'nimA'n^t mecugwi'niwA'n^t ne'niwA'n^t ä'pemine'ka'wāni'tc^t
i'kwāwa'n^t his stones hit the men who were in pursuit of the women

If there be only the subject, verb, and object, then the verb assumes dependent form. The ending of the pronominal element representing the subject of an assertive verb is *-nitci*, which at once looks like an animate form of the conjunctive. But there are three peculiarities which point toward a passive participial. One is the presence of *-gwi-* before *-nitc^t*. This *-gwi-* seems to be the same as *-g-* or *-gu-*, which, occurring in the same place, expresses a passive relation. Another peculiarity is that the first vowel of the initial stem undergoes change. Finally, the syllabic augment *ä* is wanting. Change of the vowel of an initial stem, and the absence of the augment *ä*, are the peculiar characteristics of a participial.

utA'seni'm^t mäcu'gwini'tc^t ine'niwA'n^t his stone hit the man

utase'nimA'n^t mäcu'gwini'tc^t ine'niwA'n^t his stones struck the man

The active transitive form of the verb is *me'cwäw^a* HE HIT HIM WITH A MISSILE. The animate passive conjunctive is *äme'cugu'tc^t* WHEN HE WAS STRUCK BY A MISSILE.

[Here should be mentioned the peculiar treatment of a possessed inanimate noun of the first person with a transitive verb taking an animate object. In this case the form of the verb is precisely the same as in the passive (§ 41), but the incorporated pronominal object

immediately precedes the final termination. An example is *nīpi-k^a netāwatāgw^a* MY ARROW WAS CARRYING IT AWAY (FROM ME) 80.19; 82. 8, 21; *nīpiku^t netāwatāgw^a* MY ARROW WAS CARRYING IT AWAY (FROM ME) 80.8. The analysis of the last is *n-* MY; *m-* suffix omitted (§ 45); *īpi* ARROW; *-ku^t* VERILY; *ne-gw^a* I AM (§ 41); the *-ā-* before the *-gw^a* is the same objective incorporated third person pronoun met in §§ 28, 29 (e. g., *ānesātc^t* THEN HE SLEW HIM). The *t* after *ne-* is inserted according to § 28; *āwa-āwa-* is an initial stem (§ 16) meaning TO CARRY AWAY; the following *t* seems to be a reflex of the inanimate subject (see § 21). I may add, *nīpi-k^a* is merely a reduction of *nīpi-ku^t* by stress (§ 6).—T. M.]

Use of the Possessed Noun of the Third Person as the Object of a Verb

Ambiguity is likely to arise when a possessed noun of the third person, like *ō'san^t* HIS FATHER, becomes the object of a verb. In a sentence like *nāwāw^a ō'san^t* HE SAW HIS FATHER there are two possible fathers: one is the father of the subject, and the other is the father of somebody else. The sentence, however, implies but a single father, but which one is meant is not made positive by any special form. As the sentence stands, the reference is rather to the father of the subject. But if the father of another be in mind, and there be a desire to avoid ambiguity, then one of two methods is employed. In the one the name of the son appears before the possessed noun, the name ending with the sign of the objective:

nā'wāw^a Pāgwā'nīwā'n^t ō'san^t he saw Running-Wolf's father

In the other, use is made of an incorporated dative construction.

nāta'mawā'w^a ō'san^t, the literal rendering of which is HE SAW IT FOR HIM HIS FATHER; and the sense of which is HE SAW HIM WHO WAS FATHER TO ANOTHER. The vowel *a* after *t* is an inanimate pronominal element. It is objective, while *ā* of the penult is animate and in a dative relation. [*nā-* is an initial stem, TO SEE; *-t-* is an intervocalic (§ 8); *-āw^a* (§ 28).—T. M.]

The *-amaw-* of *nāt-amawāw^a* is identical with the *-amaw-* of *api'amawin^a* UNTIE THIS FOR ME 312.12 (*api-* UNTIE [§ 16]; *-in^a* [§ 31]); *ā'ā'pi'amawātc^t* THEN HE UNTIED THE THING AND TOOK IT OFF FROM HIM 312.13 (*ā-ātc^t* [§ 29]); *pemutāmawinū* SHOOT HIM FOR ME 202.18; 204.9 (*pemu-* for *pemwu-* [§ 12]; *-t-* [§ 21]; *-inū*, a prolongation of *-in^a* [§ 31]); *sigahāmawin* POUR IT OUT FOR HIM (ME?) 236.8 (*-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21]; *-in* for *-in^a* [§ 31] by contraction [§ 10] and stress [§ 6]).

¹ From here to p. 838, addition by T. Michelson.

The question of the double object in Algonquian is not raised by Dr. Jones. It surely is found, but I have been unable to gather more than a fragmentary series from the Fox Texts. The pronominal form of the third person object, singular or plural, animate or inanimate, is *-amaw-* before vowels, *-amō-* (*-amu-*) before consonants. This occurs immediately before the other suffixal pronominal elements. It is clear that *-amaw-* and *-amō-* are related to the *-am-* in *-amw^a* of the independent mode (§ 28), *-amān^t*, *-amagw^e*, *-amowāt^t*, etc., of conjunctive and subjunctive (§ 29); *-amāge^e*, *-amāgu^a*, *-amowās^a*, etc., of the potential, potential subjunctive, prohibitive (§ 30); *-amāg^e*, *-amāgin^t*, *-amagw^e*, *-amāgw^e*, *-amōmiga^k*, etc., of the participial (§ 33); *-amu^k*, *-amowāt^e*, etc., of the imperative (§ 31). Following are examples:

kesa'kahamōn^e I burn him for you (sing.) 380.1 (*ke—n^e* [§ 28]; *sa'k-* initial stem; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

kesa'kahamōnepw^a I burn him for you (pl.) 380.6 (*ke—nepw^a* [§ 28]; the rest as above)

pemutamawinū shoot him for me 202.18 (*pemu-* for *pemw-* TO SHOOT; *-i-* [§ 8]; *-inū* for *-in^u* [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 5])

āharawatenamawāt^e then he handed it to him 348.8 (with SHE as subj. 174.17) (for *ā—āt^e* [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; *-h-* [§ 8]; *awA* for *āwA*, an initial stem [§ 16]; *-te-* [§ 8], *-n-* [§ 21]); see also 348.10, 12, 14

kisa'kahamawāpw^a ye will burn him for them 180.14 (*kī—āpw^a* [§ 28]; *sa'k-* an initial stem; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

apī A'mawin^u untie it for me 312.12 (*apī* [*āpī-*] to untie [§ 16]; *-in^u* [§ 31])

ā A'pī A'mawāt^e then he untied it for him 312.13 (*ā—āt^e* [§ 29])
ā pyātenamawiwāt^e then they brought it to me 376.9 (*ā—iwāt^e* [§ 29]; *pyā-* motion hitherward [§ 16]; *-te-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

pyātenamawiyāgw^e when you (pl.) brought me it 376.1 (*ā-* dropped [§ 12]; *ā—iyāgw^e* [§ 29])

ānāgonamawāt^e then he shoved it into them 358.1 (*ā—āt^e* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 21]; the initial stem is *nāgo-* [*nāgu-* 358.3] TO SHOVE)

pyātenamawin^u hand me them 242.13 (graphic variant for *pyātenamawin^u*; *pyā-* [§ 16]; *-te-* [§ 8]; *-in^u* [§ 31])

nīmāwinatutamawāw^a I shall go and ask him for it 252.20 (*nī—āw^a* [§ 28]; *māwi-* to go [§ 16]; *natu-* [*nato-*] to ask [§ 16]; *kenatotamōn^e* I ask it of you 380.2, 4 (*ke—n^e* [§ 28])

āsa'kahamawāt^e when he burns him for him TITLE 380 (*ā—āt^e* [§ 29]; *sa'k-* initial stem TO BURN AS AN OFFERING; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

āsa'kahamawāwōtc' when they burn him for them TITLE 380
(*ā—āwōtc'* [§ 29])

ketecinatutāmōn' such is what I ask of thee 380.5 (graphic variant for *ketacinatutāmōn'*; *ke—n'* [§ 28]; *taci-* initial stem meaning NUMBER)

īnācinatutamu'k' is what they beg of thee 382.14 (for *īn'* & *ici-*; *īn'* [§ 47]; *ā—'k'* [§ 29]; *ici* thus)

wītāmawīn' tell them to me 350.19 (the stem is *wīt-* [or *wī-*; *-t-* as in § 8 ?]; *-īn'* [§ 31])

kewītāmōn I told it to you 114.22 (for *ke—n'* [§ 28] by contraction [§ 8])

kīwītāmawāw' thou wilt tell it to him 178.1 (*kī—āw'* [§ 28])

āwītāmōnān' I tell it to thee 314.1 (*ā—nān'* [§ 29])

kīwītemōne-mā' go ahead and tell it to me 112.15 (*kī—ne* [§ 28]; *-emō-* variant of *-āmō-*)

kīwītemōnepwa I will tell it to you (pl.) 356.6 (*kī—nepwa* [§ 28])

wī-i'ciwītāmōnagōw' what I should tell you (pl.) 280.13 (*wī—nagōw'* [§ 29]; *ici-* initial stem THUS; *-āmō-* variant of *-āmō-*)

āwāwītāmawīyan' when thou tauntedst me about him 330.16 (*ā—īyan'* [§ 29]; *wā-* [§ 25])

wīwītāmawīyāg' what we (excl.) would you (sing.) declare to us 364.20 (*wī—īyāg'* [§ 29])

ākīciwītāmōnān' I have nothing more to say to thee 330.13 (*ā—nān* [§ 29]; *kīci-* an initial stem denoting COMPLETION [§ 16]; an excellent example to show that *kīci-* in Algonquian is not (as is assumed in some purely practical grammars) merely a tense-prefix to form the perfect)

kīwītāmawī-tcāmeg' I should merely like you to tell it to me 328.14 (*kī—i* [§ 28])

I do not understand *awītameg'* *wītāmōnenagā'a* I OUGHT NOT TO HAVE TOLD YOU 314.2. It is clear that *nagā'a* belongs in § 30; *-āmō-* also needs no elucidation. The *-ne-* is a puzzle; I wonder if it stands for *-ni-* and is the same as the negative suffix *-ni* in § 29?

According to Dr. Jones, *ā'ketemīnamawīyāgw'* 374.14 (and similarly *īnācinākaketemīnamawīyāgw'* 374.9) means, not IN THAT YOU HAVE BLESSED THEM FOR MY SAKE,—which the analysis would require,—but IN THAT YOU HAVE DONE THE BLESSING FOR ME.

wīwītāmawāg'e' at 350.17 is clear enough in structure (*wī—āg'e'* [§§ 29, 35]), but certainly does not fit well with Dr. Jones's explanation (Fox Texts, p. 351, footnote 3). I suspect that the real sense is I MEANT TO HAVE TOLD (YOU) ABOUT THEM FOR HIS SAKE.

This *-amaro-* is also to be seen in indefinite passives, conjunctive mode [§ 41]. Examples are:

ä'ke'kahamawig^t when I was pointed it out 374.16 (*ä-ig^t*; *ke'k-* an initial stem, TO KNOW, TO FIND OUT; -*a-* [§ 8]; -*h-* [§ 21])

ä'ke'kahamawut^t it was pointed out for him 62.8 (*ä-ut^t*; -*amaro-* represents the inanimate object)

kicesamawut^t when it was done cooking for him 14.18, 21 (*kice-kici-* COMPLETION [§ 16]; -*amaro-* variant of -*amaro-*; *ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *ä-ut^t*)

äpapa'kenamawut^t then it was taken away and torn off him 158.19 (*ä-ut^t*; *pa-* [§ 25]; -*e-* [§ 8]; -*n-* [§ 21]; *pa'k-* to separate)

ä' a' 'kasamawut^t they deprived him of it and burnt it up 158.19 (*ä-ut^t*; contrast with this *ä a' 'kasut^t* HE WAS BURNED UP 160.1)

ä 'pa'kwäcamawut^t then it was sliced away for him 14.22 (-*c-* [§ 21]; contrast 14.23 *ähanemisa'kwäcut^t*; *hanemi-* [§ 16])

Also this -*amaro-* is to be seen in the pronominal termination of a transitive verb with possessed noun of the third person as object (§ 34):

äne'tamawagw^e osīman^t because we slew his younger brother 344.10 (*ä-agw^e* [§ 29]; *ne't-* a variant of *nes-* TO KILL [§§ 9, 16]; *osīman^t*; *o* for *u*; *u-man^t* [§ 45]).

The -*amō-* is certainly also to be seen in a transitive form of the interrogative mode, which, though not given by Dr. Jones, nevertheless existed:

keke'känetamōwanän^t you knew all about it 288.5 (*ke-* [§ 25]; *ke'k-* initial stem; -*äne-* [§ 18]; -*t-* [§ 8 or § 21]; *ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *ä-wanän^t* [§ 32])

nätarwānetamōwanän^e what you desire in your own mind 180.9 (*nätarw[i]-* to desire; -*wanän^e* [§ 32])

In this connection the peculiar use of -*amā-* in certain cases should be mentioned:

ä'kiciwītāmāgut^t when he was told about them 54.13 (*ä-t^t* [§ 29]; *kici-* completion; *wīt-* to tell; -*gu-* [§ 41])

önäsīgahāmāgut^t then she poured it for her 316.23 (for *ön^t* *äsīgahāmāgut^t* by contraction [§ 10]; *ä-t^t* [§ 29]; *si-g-* an initial stem meaning TO POUR; -*a-* [§ 8]; -*h-* [§ 21]; the English idiom prevents this being translated as a passive)

pyātāmāgut^t she was fetched it 318.1 (*pyä-* [§ 16]; -*t-* [§ 8]; -*A-* variant of -*e-* [§ 8]; -*n-* [§ 21]; -*ä-t^t* [§ 29]; -*gu-* [§ 41])

kenatarwānetāmāgōg^t they ask it of you 382.12 (*ke-gōg^t* [§ 28]; *natarw-* a by-form of *natu-* TO ASK; -*äne-* [§ 18]; -*t-* [§ 21])

nīwītāmāgwa-mā of course he will tell me it 328.21 (*nī-gwa* [§ 28]; *wīt-* to tell)

ōnā'pāpākahamāgūtē then it was tapped on by him 346.15 (for *ōn'* *ā'pāpākahamāgūtē*; *ā-tē* [§ 29]; *-gu-* [§ 41]; *pā-* [§ 25]; *pāk-* [cf. *ā'pāpāgepyāhaminītē* 68.13] to tap; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21]; note that the subject grammatically must be animate)

A double object is clearly to be seen in 344.5, 7, 15, 24; 346.8: but unfortunately I can not completely analyze the form; *pāpākātāmaw-* is a variant for *pāpagatāmaw-*, and the double object is clear (*pā-* [§ 25]; *paga-* [*pāgi-*] to strike with a club).

A couple of examples where the subject is the third person plural, and the direct object third person singular (or plural), with the second person singular as indirect object, are—

kīpyātāgōg' they will bring them to you 348.3 (*kī-gōg'* [§ 28]; *pyā-* motion hitherward [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 21] and

kīhawātāgōg' they will fetch them to you 348.4 (for *kī-gōg'* [§ 28] by contraction [§ 10]; *-h-* [§ 8]; *awa-* variant of *āwa-* TO FETCH [§ 16]; *-t-* [§§ 8, 21]). The *ā-* is the same objective pronominal element seen in *ne-āwa*, *ke-āpwa*, etc. [§ 28]; *ā-ātcī*, *ā-āwātci*, etc. [§ 29]; *āsa*, *āwāsa* [§ 30]; *āta*, *ātcigi*, *ātcini*, *āwātcini*, etc. [§ 33].

Allied to the double object is the treatment of a possessed noun as the object of a transitive verb. Dr. Jones has treated the possessed noun of the third person as the object of a transitive verb of the third person [§ 34]. But there are other cases.

Thus *nemīcām' neāwātāgw^a* SHE CARRIED MY SACRED BUNDLE AWAY 326.24; 328.5, 14; 330.2 (*ne-* [§ 45]; *ne-gw^a* [§ 28]; *ā-* as above; *-t-* [§ 28]; *āwa-* [*awa-*] TO CARRY AWAY; *-t-* [§ 8 or § 21?]). As far as the verb is concerned, the structure is the same as in *neka'kitāgw^a* SHE HAS HIDDEN IT FROM ME 326.17 (*ka'ki-* is an initial stem meaning TO CONCEAL). Furthermore, it should be noted that although the noun is inanimate, *ā-* is animate. An example of where the possessed noun is the first person plural (incl.) and the subject is the second person singular is *keta'ko'konān'* *kīhawānāw^a* THOU WILT TAKE OUR (incl.) DRUM ALONG 348.9 (*ke-nān'* [§ 45]; *-t-* [§ 45]; *kī-āw^a* [§ 28]; *-h-* [§ 8]; *awa-* a variant of *āwa-*; *-n-* [§ 21]). Observe that *a'ko'kon'* (348.10, 17) DRUM is inanimate, as shown by the termination *'* (§ 42); and that the pronominal elements of *keta'ko'konān'* are inanimate; nevertheless the pronominal elements incorporated in the verb are animate.¹

Two kinds of participles drop the final sign of the subject, and take on a lengthened termination when it becomes necessary for them to enter into a relation involving the use of *-n'* as a final ending. One is the transitive participle with an animate subject and an inanimate object; the nominative ending of this participle is *-g^a*.

¹ From p. 834 to here, addition by T. Michelson.

pāmiwā'sūska'g^a one who passes by flashing a light
nā'wāw^a pāmiwāsū'skaminitci'nⁱ he saw him that went past
 flashing a light

The same ending with similar change occurs with an intransitive participle.

pā'waci'g^a one who shakes his (own) body while lying down
wā'pāmā'w^a pāwacimi'nitci'nⁱ he looked at him who lay shaking
 his own body

The other kind of participle is with the subject ending in *-t^a*. The dropping of *-t^a* is common with the indefinite passive participle.

mī'net^a one to whom he was given
āhigut^c mīne'metci'nⁱ and so he was told by the one to whom he
 was given (*-m-* [§ 21]; see also § 8)

§ 35. Syntactic Use of Modes and Tenses

1. *Future*.—The future sometimes denotes expectation, desire, and exhortation.

nī'py^a I hope to come
kī'py^a may you come
wī'pyūw^a let him come

2. *Conjunctive*.—Tense for the present and past is indicated by the syllabic augment *ā-*. If the conjunctive preserves its purely subordinate character, as when it stands in an indirect relation to an idea previously expressed or to an independent statement, then the augment *ā-* is more likely to refer to an action as past. Thus:

ā'skatc^t ā''pyāt^c in course of time he came (cf. 38.14)
ne'py^a ā''pyāy^anⁱ I came when you arrived

But if the conjunctive departs from its subordinate function, then the syllabic *ā-* may, according to context, refer to an occurrence as past, or as extending up to, and as taking place during, the present. This is the same indefinite tense of the independent verb.

āne'pāyā'nⁱ I slept; I am sleeping
āne'pāy^anⁱ you slept; you are sleeping
ā'nepā'tc^t he slept; he sleeps

It is to be observed that the translations are finite assertions, and are in the indicative mode, as would be the case for an independent verb of the same tense. They illustrate a peculiar use of the con-

junctive,—a use that belongs to all narrative discourse, as in the language of myth, legend, tradition.

This finite use is parallel to that found in the Latin construction of accusative with infinitive.

The conjunctive has a future tense, which is indicated by the prefix *wi-*. The temporal prefix also occurs with the third person of animate and inanimate independent forms. [See my note to § 28.—T. M.]

As in the independent series, so here, the future can be used to express vague anticipation and desire.

wi'hāya'nʔ dost thou expect to go?

wihātcʰ he wants to go

3. *Dependent Character of the Pronominal Forms of the Negative Independent Verb.*—It is convenient at this point to make mention of the negative forms of the independent intransitive verb. The negative adverb is *āgwʰ* NO, NOT. Its position is before the verb, and its use involves a modification of the conjunctive. In the first place, the temporal vowel *ā-* drops out, and so there is no sign to indicate indefinite tense. In the second place, all the pronominal elements take on a terminal *-ni*, all the terminal vowels of the conjunctive being *e*.

The following examples show some of the forms with stem:

ā'gwi pyā'yāni'nʔ I do not come; I did not come

ā'gwi pyā'yanʔni'nʔ thou dost not come; thou didst not come

ā'gwi pyā'tcinʔ he does not come; he did not come

ā'gwi pyāmi'ga'ki'nʔ it does not come; it did not come

ā'gwi pyā'yāgi'ni they and I do not come; they and I did not come

For the future, the negative independent verb has the prefix *wi-*.

The negative of the conjunctive verb is indicated by *pwā'wi*. Its use brings about no change in the form of the verb. It stands between the tense particles *ā-* and *wi-* and the verbal stems.

ā'pwāwipyāyā'nʔ when I did not come

wi'pwāwipyā'tcʰ while he has no desire to come

4. *The Subjunctive.*—The subjunctive has a variety of uses. In one it is used to express an unfulfilled wish.

*nā'sāt** may he get well

*pō'nepyā't** would that he ceased from drunkenness

In another it is employed to express a wish, as of a prayer. In

its use, it occurs with an adverb *tai'yāna*, which conveys the desiderative sense of WOULD THAT! OH, IF!

*tai'yāna pyā't** oh, if he would only come!

The subjunctive is also used to express the possibility of an action.

*pe'musä't** he might pass by on foot

*tetepu'säyA'n** thou shouldst walk around in a circle

The same subjunctive is employed to express two kinds of conditions. In the one, where the condition is assumed as possible, the subjunctive stands in the protasis; while the future indicative of an independent verb is in the conclusion. The tense of the subjunctive is implied, and is that of the future.

*wi-u-pi'tähä'w^a pyä'miga''k** he will be pleased if it should come

In the other, where the condition is assumed as contrary to fact, both clauses stand in the subjunctive. The tense of both clauses is implied; that of the protasis is past, and that of the conclusion is present.

upi'tähä't pyä'miga''k** he would be pleased if it had come

The forms of this subjunctive are connected with past action. The idea of relative time is gathered more from implication of the context than from the actual expression of some distinctive element calling for past time. Some of the uses to which this subjunctive is put are the following:

It is used to express an unattained desire. It occurs with *tai'yāna*.

*tai'yāna kī'wäte''** oh, if he only had turned and come back!

It is used as a potential.

*ta'kamusä'yane''** thou mightest have gone by a short way in your walk across country

It frequently has the force of an indicative, and, when so used, the verb makes use of the tense particles *ä* and *wi*. [See my note to § 29.—T. M.] But the action is always represented with reference to an event in the past.

*i'ni te'pe'kw' ä''pemāmute''** it was on that night when he fled for his life (*pem*- [§ 16]; *-āmu*- [see *-ā*- § 19])

In this connection it often occurs with an adverb, *ke'yāha'p^a*, which has such meanings as IT WAS TRUE; IT WAS A FACT; WHY, AS A MATTER OF FACT.

ke'yāha'pā wī·A·ceno'wāte'' now, as a matter of fact, it was their intention to be absent

5. *The Potential*.—The potential is used to express a possibility.

nahinā'gā'ki'tc' he might learn how to sing

pyā'kā'a I am likely to come

The potential subjunctive is used in a verb that stands in the conclusion of a past condition contrary to fact, while in the protasis stands a verb in the past subjunctive.

nahinā'gāte'' *ite'pihā'sa* had he known how to sing, he would have gone to the place

6. The negative of the verb in the protasis is *pwā'w'*, and the negative of the verb in the conclusion is *a'wit'a*.

pwā'w' nahinā'gāte'' *a'wit'a ite'pihā'sa* if he had not known how to sing, he would not have gone to the place

7. The prohibitive imperative is introduced by *kāt'a*, a negative adverb with the meaning NOT or DO NOT.

8. *The Imperative*.—It was observed how the future independent was used as a mild imperative. There is still another light imperative, one that is used in connection with the third person animate. It is almost like a subjunctive (see § 31). The forms of this imperative have a passive sense, and are best rendered by some such word as LET.

Pre-pronominal Elements (§§ 36-41)

§ 36. FORMAL VALUE OF PRE-PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS

In §§ 20-21 a number of stems have been described which precede the pronouns, and which have in some cases the meaning of a noun, or less clearly defined instrumentality; in others, a classificatory value relating to animate and inanimate objects; while in many cases their significance is quite evanescent. Many of these elements have more or less formal values, and correspond to the voices of the verbs of other languages; while still others seem to be purely formal in character. For this reason these elements, so far as they are formal in character, will be treated here again.

§ 37. CAUSAL PARTICLES

-m- animate, *-t-* inanimate. (See § 21)

As has been stated before, these particles sometimes imply that something is done with the voice, but ordinarily they simply

§§ 36, 37

indicate the transitive character of the verb. The animate-*m*-immediately precedes an animate, pronominal element. When the object is animate, it comes before the form that represents an objective relation; but when the object is inanimate, then it stands preceding the sign that represents the animate subject. The intervocalic *t* stands in front of the vowel that represents the inanimate object. (See examples in § 21.)

The consonant *t* often has a whispered continuant before articulation ('t). With one form or the other, the consonant has an inanimate use which is peculiar to itself alone. It often conveys the idea of work; of the display of energy; of activity which implies the use of some agency, but without expressing any particular form of instrumentality. This use of the intervocalic consonant involves a difference in the form of the objective pronominal sign. In the examples that were just cited, the sign of the objective inanimate pronoun was *a* or *Δ*. With this other use of *t* or 't, the inanimate sign of the objective pronoun is *o* or *ō*.

pō'ni'tō'w^a he no longer works at it; he no longer makes it (*pōni*- [§ 16])

nesa'nagi'tō I had a hard time with it; I had trouble making it

h, hw, w.

There is one group of causal particles which have a common function of reference to instrumentality in general. They are *h*, *hw*, and *w*. Comparing the use of one of these with that of *t* or 't brings out clearly the difference between causal particles with the instrumental sense limited and *t* or 't that has the instrumental function unlimited. With *h*, for example, the emphasis is rather upon the connection of the action of the verb and the means taken to act upon the object. On the other hand, with *t* or 't the connection is closer between the action of the verb and the object of the verb. The idea of instrumentality is so vague as to be left wholly to inference.

ka'skaha'mw^a he accomplished the work (by the help of some kind of agency) (*ka'sk-* [§ 16]; *-mw^a* [§ 28])

ka'ski'tō'w^a he accomplished the work

ä'pyätōhwātē he then fetched it 266.15 (*pyä-t-ō-* [§§ 16, 8, 19]; *-ātē* [§ 29])

One more comparison will perhaps suffice upon this point. There is a causal particle *m* which has already been mentioned. It has a common use associated with the instrumentality of the mouth, more particularly with that of speech.

pō'nimä'w^a no longer does he speak to him

pō'ni'tō'w^a no longer does he do it

§ 38. THE RECIPROCAL VERB

Now that the tables of the transitive pronominal elements have been shown, it will be convenient to take up the other two classes of transitive verbs; viz., the reciprocals and reflexives. They can be dismissed with a few remarks. Both have much the character of an intransitive verb; in fact, their form is that of an intransitive. The reciprocal expresses mutual participation on the part of two or more subjects, and so the verb does not occur except in plural form or with a plural sense. The reciprocal notion is expressed by *ti* incorporated between the stem of the verb and the final, pronominal sign. [It should be noted that in all the examples given, *-ti-* is the incorporated element, not *-ti-*.—T. M.] The reciprocal has a reflexive sense, in that it represents the subjects as objects of the action. Its force as a transitive is gathered from the context.

mīgā'tiwa'g^t they fought together; they fought with one another

ne'wāpatipe'n^a he and I looked at each other

ke'nīmiheti'pw^a you danced together

ä'taneti'g^t at a place where gambling one with another is going on
nawihetiwa'gāpe'^e they always visit one another 238.23

ähitinīt^t they said one to another 76.14 (*-nīt^t* [§ 34])

änāwutiwāt^t as one was eyeing the other 112.8

māneti'g^t they who played the harlot with each other 150 TITLE

[so text; error for *-ti'g^t*]

ä'kakanōneti'īt^t she and he talked together a great deal 176.21

(*kan-* reduplicated)

māmātiwa'gāpe they are always taking things from each other
276.16 (*-ag-* for *-agi* before *-āpe*)

kī'taneti'pen^a let us make a bet with each other 296.18

ähitiwāt^t they said one to another 358.25

ä'pōnikanōnetiwāt^t so with no further words to each other 62.6

nīmīgātīpen^a he and I shall fight against each other 60.6

tcāgānatōtiwāt^t then an invitation was extended to all, every one
asking every one else 60.13 (*tcāg-* for *tcāgi-* ALL)

§ 39. THE REFLEXIVE VERB

In the reflexive verb the action refers back to the subject. The sign of the reflexive is *-tisu-* or *-tiso-* with the *u* or *o* vowel in either case sometimes long. The reflexive sign occurs in the same place as the reciprocal; viz., between the stem and the final pronoun. The difference of meaning between the two signs is, that *-tisu-* represents the subject solely as the object of the action, and does not, like *-ti-*, convey the reciprocal relation which two or more subjects bear to one another. Reflexive *-ti-* in *-tisu-* is plainly the same element as the reciprocal *-ti-*.

wābā'tisō'w^a he looked at himself (*wābā-* same as *wāpā*)

pāgā'tisō'w^a he hit himself (*pāgā* allied with *pāgi* TO STRIKE)

āhitisutc' he then said to himself 286.22 (*hi* to say)

§ 40. THE MIDDLE VOICE

Thus far the description has been of verbs in the active voice. Two other voices are yet to be mentioned,—the middle and the passive. The middle voice represents the subject in close relation with the action of the verb. It is a form of construction of which the dialect is especially fond. The form of the verb is active, and mainly of a predicative intransitive character; but the meaning is passive. The voice is distinguished by animate and inanimate signs. Only two sets of signs will be taken up, the two most frequently met with. The animate sign is *o* and *u* long and short, and the inanimate is *ā*. These vowels are immediately preceded by intervocalic consonants, among which are *s* for the animate and *t* for the inanimate. It is perhaps better to refer to the combinations of *so* and *sō*, *su* and *sū*, and *tū*, as some of the signs of the middle voice. These forms are incorporated between the stem and the pronominal ending. The combinations of *sū* and *tū* were met with before in the section on secondary connective stems (§ 20). They appeared there in the rôle of co-ordinative stems, and the sense they conveyed was that of HEAT and WARMTH. They were used with reference to an existence or condition of the subject, and occurred among verbs of an intransitive nature. The same verbs used in the examples there can all be classed in the middle voice. The same signs can be used without the meaning of HEAT and WARMTH.

§§ 39, 40

ä'wäwäpisu'tc' when he swung
wi'tō'kāsoyΛ'n' if thou shouldst help
ka''kisa'w^a he is in hiding
ne'tōw^a he killed himself 66.8 (-'t- [§ 9])
k'iwā'gwātā'w^t it lies on the ground
ane'mipugōtā'w^t it floats yon way; it moves away, carried by the
 water (*Anemi*- [§ 16]; *-pugō-* [§ 19]; *-w^t* [§ 28])

The middle voice sometimes represents an animate subject as acting upon itself in an indirect object relation. The action of the verb refers back to the subject in something like a reflexive sense. In this use of the middle voice appears the instrumental particle, and it stands in the place of *s*.

kō'gitepānū'w^a he washes his own head (with the help of his hand)
 (*kōg-* [§ 16]; *-n-* [§ 21])
kā'sitepāhō'w^a he wipes his own head (with something) (*kāsi-*
 [§ 16]; *-h-* [§ 21])
pe''tecō'w^a he accidentally cut himself (with something sharp)
 (*-c-* [§ 21])

The subject of a verb in the middle voice is often expressed as if acted upon in a passive sense.

tagwa'hōsō'w^a he is caught in a trap
pemi'pugō'w^a he floats by (more literally, he is carried past by
 the water; *pemi-* *pugō-* [§§ 16, 19])
kīyō'megō'w^a he rides about on horseback (literally, he is carried
 about; *kī-* [§ 16]; *-y-* a glide [§ 8]; *-ō-* [§ 19]; *-m-* [§ 21; also
 § 8])

§ 41. THE PASSIVE VOICE

The use of the passive voice proper is confined to an agent in the third person. The sign of the passive is *g* or *gu*; it occurs between the stem and the final pronominal ending. The sign with pronominal element can be seen in the tables of transitive forms. It is to be observed that the sign occurs more frequently with independent than with dependent forms.

The Passive with Subject and Object

A peculiarity of the passive construction is the difference of the form of the animate agent when the action of the verb is directed against the first or second person, and the form of the animate agent when the action is directed against a third person. If the action of the verb be directed against a first or second person, then the agent

keeps the normal form of the nominative; but if the action of the verb be directed against the third person, then there is a change in the form of the agent: *-ni* is added to the nominative singular to mark the singular agent, and *'i* is added to the same to mark the plural agent. Furthermore, if the object of the action be singular and the agent plural, the form of the verb will be singular. If the object of the action be plural, then the form of the verb will be plural. A few examples will illustrate the use of the passive forms with an animate agent.

newâ'pame'gw^a ne'niw^a I am seen by the man

kewâ'pame'gw^a ne'niw^a thou art seen by the man

wâ'pame'gw^a ne'niwâ'nⁱ he is seen by the man. [In this and the next case, *-w^a* is the pronominal termination; *-g-* the passive sign; i. e., *g-w^a*, not *-gu^a* (for *gu + a*), as in the first two examples.—T. M.]

wâ'pame'gw^a ne'niwâ''ⁱ he is seen by the men

wâpâ'megô'gⁱ ne'niwâ'nⁱ they are seen by the man

wâpâ'megô'gⁱ ne'niwâ''ⁱ they are seen by the men

The same examples turned into the conjunctive mode would be—

âwâpamegwâgⁱ ne'niw^a when I was seen by the man

âwâpamegwâtcⁱ ne'niw^a when thou wert seen by the man

â'wâpamegu'tcⁱ ne'niwâ'nⁱ when he was seen by the man

â'wâpamegu'tcⁱ ne'niwâ''ⁱ when he was seen by the men

âwâ'pameguwâ'tcⁱ ne'niwâ'nⁱ when they were seen by the man

âwâ'pameguwâ'tcⁱ ne'niwâ''ⁱ when they were seen by the men

The Indefinite Passive

There is an indefinite passive—indefinite in the sense that the agent is referred to in an indefinite way. The forms of two modes will be shown,—one of the indefinite tense of the independent mode, and another of the same tense of the conjunctive mode.

INDEFINITE PASSIVE INDEPENDENT MODE

	Singular		Plural
1st per.	<i>ne-gôpi</i>	Excl.	<i>ne-gôpena</i>
		Incl.	<i>ke-gôpena</i>
2d per.	<i>ke-gôpi</i>	2d per.	<i>ke-gôpwa</i>
3d per. an. }	<i>-âpi</i>	3d per.	<i>-âpi</i>
3d per. inan. }			

It is to be observed that some of the independent forms end with a final *-pi*, which may have some relation with *i'pi*, a quotative with

such meanings as THEY SAY, IT IS SAID. The quotative sometimes occurs alone, but is most frequently met with as a suffix. Some of the forms just shown are the same as the ones seen in the independent transitive list; viz., the forms of the plural of the first and second persons. The following examples illustrate some of the uses of this passive:

ne'wâpamegō'pⁱ I am looked at (-me- [§§ 8, 21])
 ke'wâpamegō'pw^a you are looked at
 wâ'pamā'pⁱ he is looked at; they are looked at
 wâ'patā'pⁱ it is looked at; they are looked at
 kenatomegō'pⁱ you are asked 368.4 (-me- [§§ 8, 21])

The conjunctive forms show the passive sign in the plural. The first and second persons singular end in -gi, —a suffix denoting location when attached to substantives, and indicating plurality of the third person of the independent mode. It is possible that there may be some connection between this ending and the passive sign; but it has not yet been made clear. The following are the indefinite passive forms of the conjunctive of indefinite tense:

INDEFINITE PASSIVE, CONJUNCTIVE MODE

	Singular		Plural
1st per.	ä-igi	Excl.	ä-gwiyäge
		Incl.	ä-gwiyaḡwe
2d per.	ä-negi	2d per.	ä-gwiyaḡwe
3d per. an.	ä-(u)tcī	3d per. an.	ä-gwiwātci
	ä-(e)tcī		
3d per. inan.	ä-amegi	3d per. inan.	ä-amegi

änatumene'kⁱ when you were asked 372.12 (*k* for *g*, as in -kāpā- for -gāpā- and in other similar cases)

nätumik I being asked 374.1 (-m- [§ 21])

äha'kasamegiⁱ they (inan.) were set on fire 16.1

The third person animate singular of the indefinite passive can refer to four different relations. The form is the same, whatever may be the number of the object and the agent. The number of the object and the agent is often inferred from the context, but in the two examples to be shown each passive expression will appear with agents. If the agent be singular, then the ending will be -ni; if plural, then the noun ends in -'i. It will be observed that this construction is much like that of the passive with *g* and *gu*. The object

of the action of the verb will be omitted; if expressed, it would be in the nominative.

ä'hine'tc' ne'nüwA'n' he was told by the man
ä'hine'tc' ne'nüwa'' he was told by the men
ä'hine'tc' ne'nüwA'n' they were told by the man
ä'hine'tc' ne'nüwa'' they were told by the men
ä'näwu'tc' i''kwäwA'n' she was seen by the woman
ä'näwu'tc' i''kwäwa'' she was seen by the women
ä'näwu'tc' i''kwäwA'n' they were seen by the woman
ä'näwu'tc' i''kwäwa'' they were seen by the women

§ 42. Syntactic Forms of the Substantive

Substantives have forms to distinguish gender, number, and four case-relations. The case-relations are the nominative, the vocative, the locative, which is the case of spacial and temporal relations, and the objective. All these forms are expressed by suffixes. They are thus shown in the following table:

	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
Nominative	-a	-gi	-i	-ni
Vocative	-e, -i	-tigi	(-e), -i	-ni (-ne)
Locative	-gi	-nigini	-we, -e, -gi	-gini
Objective	-a, -ni	-gi, -'i	-i	-ni

These forms will be shown with two nouns,—*A'nägw^a* STAR, and *A'senⁱ* STONE.

	Star.		Stone.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
Nominative . . .	<i>A'nägw^a</i>	<i>A'nägwA'gⁱ</i>	<i>A'senⁱ</i>	<i>A'senyä'nⁱ</i>
Vocative	<i>Anä'gw^e</i>	<i>Anä'gweti'g^e</i>	<i>Ase'nⁱ</i>	<i>A'senyä'nⁱ</i>
Locative	<i>A'nägwⁱgi</i>	<i>Anägwⁱnägi'nⁱ</i>	<i>A'seni'gⁱ</i>	<i>Ase'nigi'nⁱ</i>
	<i>A'nägu'gⁱ</i>			
Objective	<i>A'nägw^a</i>	<i>a'nägwA'gⁱ</i>	<i>A'senⁱ</i>	<i>A'senyä'nⁱ</i>
	<i>A'näga'nⁱ</i>	<i>Anägwu' i</i>		

There is no difference of form between the objective and some forms of the possessive. Thus:

ö'sanⁱ his father (animate)
u'wīcⁱ his head (inanimate)

The ending *-gi* to express animate plurality is no doubt the same as the one denoting location, thus suggesting the probability of a common origin.

§ 43. The Adjective

The attributive relation is expressed by a form analogous to an inanimate construction, which does not inflect for number or case. There are primary and derived adjectives. The former contains the descriptive notion in the stem; as, *ke'tci* GREAT, *tca'gi* SMALL. The derived adjective is one that comes from a noun; as, *ma'netō'w^a* (from *ma'netō'w^a* MYSTERY BEING), *A'cā'ⁱ* (from *A'cā'^a* A SIOUX). Both kinds of inanimate adjectives agree in form and function; they have a singular, inanimate ending, and they occur in an attributive relation.

ke'tci ma'netō'w^a a great mysterious being
tca'gi wīgiyāpā'ⁱ a little dwelling
ma'netō'wi a'k'ⁱ a mysterious country
A'cā'hi ne'niw^a a Sioux man

As has been said, such adjectives do not change their form to agree with nouns for number and case.

ke'tci ma'netō'w^e! O great mystery!
ma'netō'wi a'kyān'ⁱ mysterious lands
A'cā'hi ne'niw^ag'ⁱ Sioux men

By virtue of its position, the adjective of inanimate forms takes on the function of an initial stem, and as such it enters into combinations with secondary elements to form—

Nouns:

tca'gi'nāgā'ⁱ small bowl
me'cīmi'nⁱ apple (literally, large fruit)
ase'nigā'nⁱ stone dwelling
Acā'hinā'w^a Sioux country

Verbs:

tca'gāhenuhi'wⁱ pī'cāgā'ⁱ it is a tiny buckskin string
ne'niw^a me'cināgusi'w^a the man looked big (*-nāgu-* [§ 18]; *-si-* [§ 20])

Adjectives, when used as predicates, have the form of an intransitive verb. The verb is built up on the regular order of stem-formation with the qualifying notion of the combination resting mainly in the initial member. The sense of the stem undergoes restriction by other elements, and concord of gender and pronoun

is maintained. Such a combination agrees with a noun in gender and number. It stands before or after the noun it modifies.

me'cāwi sī'pōw^t large is the river (*mec*-large; -*ā*- [§ 20]; -*wi* [§ 28])
ī'kwāw^Λg^t kănō'siw^Λg^t the women are tall (-*sī*- [§ 20]; -*wag^t* [§ 28])

Pronouns (§§ 44-49)

§ 44. The Independent Personal Pronoun

The incorporated forms of the personal pronoun have been treated in §§ 28-34. The independent pronoun is closely related to the pronouns of the independent mode of the intransitive verb (§ 28).

I <i>nīn^a</i>	he (an.) <i>īn^a</i>
we (exclusive) <i>nī'nān^a</i>	it (inan.) <i>īnⁱ</i>
we (inclusive) <i>kīnān^a</i>	they (an.) <i>ī'nīg^t</i>
thou <i>kīn^a</i>	they (inan.) <i>ī'nin^t</i>
ye <i>kī'nwāw^a</i>	

§ 45. The Possessive Pronoun

Possession is expressed by prefixes and suffixes which are related to the pronouns of the independent mode. The suffixes differ for nouns of the animate and for those of the inanimate class, and for singular and plural of the object possessed.

OBJECT POSSESSED

	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
my	<i>ne-ma</i>	<i>ne-magi</i>	<i>ne-mi</i>	<i>ne-mani</i>
ours (excl.)	<i>ne-menāna</i>	<i>ne-menānagi</i>	<i>ne-menāni</i>	<i>ne-menānani</i>
ours (incl.)	<i>ke-menāna</i>	<i>ke-menānagi</i>	<i>ke-menāni</i>	<i>ke-menānani</i>
thy	<i>ke-ma</i>	<i>ke-magi</i>	<i>ke-mi</i>	<i>ke-mani</i>
your	<i>ke-mwāwa</i>	<i>ke-mwāwagi</i>	<i>ke-mwāwi</i>	<i>ke-mwāwani</i>
his	<i>u-mani</i>	<i>u-ma'i</i>	<i>u-mi</i>	<i>u-mani</i>
their	<i>u-mwāwani</i>	<i>u-mwāwa'i</i>	<i>u-mwāwani</i>	<i>u-mwāwani</i>

A few examples will serve to illustrate the use of the forms. The word for dog is *Λ'nemō^Λa*, a noun of animate gender. [The inserted -*t*- in the following examples is presumably the same as in *ne'taw^t* I AM (§ 28).—T. M.] The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the same number would be—

ne'tΛnemōhe'm^a my dog (-*t*- [§ 8])
ke'tΛnemōhe'm^a thy dog
utΛ'nemōhema'nⁱ his dog

Let the same persons remain in the singular, and let the noun be in the plural, and the forms would be—

neṭa' nemōhema'gⁱ my dogs
keṭa' nemōhema'gⁱ thy dogs
uṭa' nemōhema'ⁱ his dogs

The word for rock is *ṭa'sen^t*, a noun of inanimate gender. The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the singular would be—

neṭa'seni'mⁱ my rock
keṭa'seni'mⁱ thy rock
uṭa'seni'mⁱ his rock

The forms with the same persons in the singular and the noun in the plural would be—

ne'ṭasenima'nⁱ my rocks
ke'ṭasenima'nⁱ thy rocks
u'ṭasenima'nⁱ his rocks

The consonant *m* of the suffix is often omitted with certain classes of substantives: as—

In terms denoting relationship.

no's^a my father
ke'gy^a thy mother
u'taiyā'nⁱ his pet (referring to a horse or dog)

In words expressing parts of the body.

ne'tā'ⁱ my heart
ke'gā'kⁱ thy chest
u'wīcⁱ his head

In some names of tools.

neṭō''pwāga'nⁱ my pipe
ke'mē'tā'ⁱ thy bow
u'wīpa'nⁱ his arrow

[It should be observed that under special stress the vowel of the *m* suffix is split into two vowels (§ 6); likewise it should be noticed that under unknown conditions *t* is not inserted after *ne*, *ke*, *u*, before initial vowels: then the terminal *e* of *ne* and *ke* is elided, while a glide *w* (§ 8) is inserted after *u*.

Examples of possessives with the *m* of the suffix, from the Texts, are—

neṣīmā' my younger brother 330.16
nete'kwām^a my sister 84.2, 12, etc.
neṣīmāhagⁱ my little brothers 282.13

- necicīpemag*ⁱ my ducks 284.2
nesīmāhenān^a our (excl.) younger brother 90.12; 96.1
*nōcisemenānān*ⁱ our (excl.) grandchild (obj. case) 160.9
kesīmāhenān^a our (incl.) little brother 90.6; 96.7
kīnemunān^a our (incl.) sister-in-law 92.16 (-*u* = -*e*-)
ketōgimāmenān our (incl.) chief 300.24 (*t* inserted)
*kesīmāhenānag*ⁱ our (incl.) younger brothers 122.5, 11, 18
*ketūgimāmenānag*ⁱ our (incl.) chiefs 62.22 (*t* inserted)
kenāpām^a thy husband 162.15, 23; 178.1
kōcīsem^a thy grandson 290.24
kesīmā^a thy little brother 252.1
*kete'kumag*ⁱ thy foods 314.14
*unāpāman*ⁱ her husband 162.23, 24
usīman his younger brother 314.17
*usīmāhā*ⁱ his younger brothers 90.14, 15
*usīma*ⁱ his younger brothers 90.10
*ucīsema*ⁱ her grandchildren 160.11
*utūtāma*ⁱ his sisters 208.15
*uwīnemō*ⁱ his sisters-in-law 96.11 (*w* a glide)
*uto'kaneman*ⁱ his bones 16.5
utūkaneman his bones 16.1
*utahīneman*ⁱ his garments 274.20
*usīmā'wāwan*ⁱ their younger brother 156.13, 16; 160.2
*usīmāhwāwan*ⁱ their younger brother 94.19
*uwīnemowāwan*ⁱ their sister-in-law 92.8 (*w* a glide; -*o*- inserted)

Examples from the Texts, of possessives without the *m* of the suffix, are—

- negwī*ⁱ my son 182.4; 184.8
nemecōmes^a my grandfather 206.6
necisā^a my uncle 12.14
negy^a my mother 38.15 (for *negi*^a; cf. *uginōāwan*ⁱ their mother)
nī'kān^a my friend 14.12; 26.17
*nīp*ⁱ my arrow 84.20
*nīpan*ⁱ my arrows 290.20
nemecōmesenān^a our (excl.) grandfather 160.5
*kenātawinōnenān*ⁱ our (incl.) medicine 308.22
ketaiy^a thy pet 178.14
*ketōtāwen*ⁱ thy town 16.4 (contrasted with 16.18)
*kegwīsag*ⁱ thy sons 172.6
kesesāhwāwa your elder brother 294.18
*ucemīsan*ⁱ his niece 12.17, 20
*ugwīsa*ⁱ her sons 170.1; 238.6
*uwī'kāna*ⁱ his comrades 14.5, 6, 8; 20.1; 24.4 (*w* a glide)

*uw̄t̄cimāskōtāroa*ⁱ his people 16.6
*ugiwāwan*ⁱ their mother 154.9
*ugwiswāwan*ⁱ their son 172.17
*ugwiswāwa*ⁱ their sons 172.20
*un̄t̄cāneswāwa*ⁱ their children 160.13

It should be observed that in certain terms of relationship, *u-* of the third person is not used. Contrast *ōcisemwāw*ⁱ THEIR GRANDCHILDREN 154.18 with *kōcisem*^a THY GRANDSON 290.24; *ōsan*ⁱ HIS FATHER 208.15 with *kōswāwan*ⁱ YOUR FATHER 232.5 (owing to the exigency of English grammar, Dr. Jones is forced not to be strictly literal in his translation); *ō'komesan*ⁱ HIS GRANDMOTHER 234.4, 6 and *ō'kumeswāwan*ⁱ THEIR GRANDMOTHER 160.7 with *kō'komesenāna* OUR (incl.) GRANDMOTHER 262.3.—T. M.]

§ 46. The Reflexive Pronoun

What stands for the reflexive pronoun in the absolute form is in reality an inanimate, possessive combination. The thing possessed is designated by *a-*, which has an essential meaning of EXISTENCE, BEING. The forms are—

*n̄i'yaw*ⁱ myself
*k̄i'yaw*ⁱ thyself
*u'w̄iya'w*ⁱ his self
*k̄i'yānā'n*ⁱ ourselves (I and thou)
*n̄i'yānā'n*ⁱ ourselves (I and he)
*k̄i'yāwā'w*ⁱ yourselves
*uw̄i'yāwā'w*ⁱ their selves

These forms appear frequently as the object of a transitive verb; and when so used, the combination of both pronoun and verb is best rendered by an intransitive form.

*netā'pāne'ta n̄i'yaw*ⁱ I am independent (literally, I own my own bodily self)
*wā'paci'tōwa'g't uw̄i'yāwā'w*ⁱ they are bad, sinful (literally, they defame their own bodily selves)

§ 47. The Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns occur in absolute form, and number and gender are distinguished. Some of the forms are slightly irregular in passing from singular to plural and from one gender to another. Three of the pronouns point to an object present in time and space with much the same force as English THIS, THAT, YONDER.

§§ 46, 47

Pronoun.	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
this	<i>mana</i>	<i>māhagi</i>	<i>mani</i>	<i>māhani</i>
that	<i>ina</i>	<i>inigi</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>inini</i>
yonder	<i>ināga</i>	<i>ināmāhagi</i>	<i>ināmani</i>	<i>ināmāhani</i>

The demonstrative *ina* is also the third person, personal pronoun.

These demonstratives are used in the following relations:

ma'na ne'niw^a this man (who is in the presence of both speaker and person addressed, but not necessarily within the immediate presence of both, or within their hearing)

i'na ne'niw^a that man (who is farther removed, or who is subordinate in point of interest)

i'nāga ne'niw^a yonder man (who is farther still removed, and who can be out of hearing, but not out of sight)

One demonstrative is used in answer to a question, and corresponds to English **THAT**, **YONDER**, when both are used in a weak, indefinite sense. The object referred to is present and visible.

Pronoun.	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
that	<i>inama</i>	<i>inimāhagi</i>	<i>inima</i>	<i>inimāhani</i>

This pronoun is used when reference is made to a particular object selected from a list; as, *i'nama ne'niw^a* **THAT MAN**, as in the question, Which of the men do you wish to see?

Another pronoun has a temporal force, and refers to an object as invisible and in the past.

Pronoun.	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
that	<i>iniya</i>	<i>iniyāga</i>	<i>iniye</i>	<i>iniyāne</i>

I'niya ne'niw^a **THAT MAN** refers to a man known to both speaker and person addressed, but who is at present absent, or is no longer alive.

A demonstrative performs the function of an adjective; and when one is used alone without some noun, it still retains the force of a qualifier.

ma'ni ä'i cinājä'tc' this is the kind of song he sang
ini ä'i ciseq' that is how the affair stands

§ 48. Indefinite Pronouns, Positive and Negative

There are three sets of indefinite pronouns. One inflects for number and gender, and means OTHER. The second inflects for number, but has separate forms for each gender; the animate answers to SOMEBODY, SOME ONE, and is used of persons; while the inanimate refers to SOMETHING, and is used of things without life. The third expresses the negative side of the second set, as NOBODY, NO ONE, NOTHING. The negatives are compound forms of the second set with the adverb *āgwi* NO, NOT, occupying initial place. The three sets of demonstratives stand in the table in the order named.

Pronoun.	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
other	<i>ku'taga</i>	<i>ku'taga'g'</i>	<i>ku'tag'</i>	<i>ku'taga'n'</i>
somebody, something . . .	<i>ä'wiyä'a</i>	<i>uw'iyäha'g'</i>	<i>kä'gō'</i>	<i>kä'gōha'n'</i>
nobody, nothing	<i>āgū'wiyä'a</i>	<i>ā'guw'iyäha'g'</i>	<i>āgwi'gōgō'</i>	<i>ā'guw'iyä'gōha'n'</i>

The first of these forms usually plays the part of an adjective, while the others often stand alone and appear as nouns.

ku'taga ne'niv'a the other man
u'wiyä'a pyä'w'a somebody is coming
āgū'wiyä'a ai'yō' nobody is here
āgwi'kägō' *a'tägi'n'* nothing is left

§ 49. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronoun asks about the quality of a noun, and inflects for number and gender. There are two pronouns used absolutely.

Pronoun.	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
who, what	<i>wänä'a</i>	<i>wänäha'gi</i>	<i>wägunä'</i>	<i>wägunähani</i>
which	<i>täna</i>	<i>tänigi</i>	<i>täni</i>	<i>tänigi</i>

§§ 48, 49

The first pronoun asks of quality without reference to limitation.

wä'nä^a tca' ina ne'niw^a who is that man?

wägunä' pyätöy^ani what dost thou bring?

The second pronoun expresses quality with more of a partitive sense.

tä'na'tcā i'na ne'niw^a? which is the man? where is that man?

tä'ni pyä'töy^an'? which didst thou bring? where is the thing that thou broughtest?

The examples show the predicate use of the pronouns. The pronouns have also an attributive function.

wä'nä^a ne'niw^a? what man? Also, who is the man?

tä'na ne'niw^a? which man? Also, which man of several?

Numerals (§§ 50-52)

§ 50. Cardinal Numbers

The numeral system as exemplified in the form of the cardinals starts with a quinary basis. The cardinals in their successive order are as follows:

ne'gutⁱ one

nä'cwⁱ two

ne'swⁱ three

nyä'wⁱ four

nyä'n^an^wⁱ five

ne'gutwäci'g^a six

nö'hig^a seven

ne'cwäci'g^a eight

cä'g^a nine

me'däswⁱ } ten

kwä'tcⁱ

medäswi'negu'tⁱ } eleven

medäswinegutineswⁱ

medäswinⁱcwⁱ } twelve

medäswinⁱcwⁱ'nesi'wⁱ

medä'swine'swⁱ } thirteen

medäswineswi'nesi'wⁱ

medä'swinyä'wⁱ } fourteen

medäswinyäwi'nesi'wⁱ

medäswi'nyān^an^wⁱ } fifteen

medäswi'nyān^an^wⁱ'nesi'wⁱ

medäswinegu'twäci'g^a } sixteen

medäswinegutwäci'g^a'nesi'wⁱ

<i>medāswinōhigā</i>	} seventeen
<i>medāswinōhigā'nesi'w^t</i>	
<i>medāswine'cwāci'g^a</i>	} eighteen
<i>medāswinecwāciḡā'nesi'w^t</i>	
<i>medā'swicā'g^a</i>	} nineteen
<i>medāswicāḡā'nesi'w^t</i>	
<i>nīwābit_Ag^t</i>	twenty
<i>nīcwābit_Aginegu't^t</i>	} twenty-one
<i>nīcwābit_Aginegutinesi'w^t</i>	
<i>neswā'bit_Ag^t</i>	thirty
<i>neswābit_Agini'c'w^t</i>	} thirty-two
<i>neswābit_Aginīcwinesi'w^t</i>	
<i>nyāwā'bit_Ag^t</i>	forty
<i>nyāwābit_Agine'sw^t</i>	} forty-three
<i>nyāwābit_Agineswinesi'w^t</i>	
<i>nyānānā'bit_Ag^t</i>	} fifty
<i>cegi'kanaw^t</i>	
<i>nyānānābit_Aginyā'w^t</i>	} fifty-four
<i>nyānānābit_Aginyāwinesi'w^t</i>	
<i>negutwāciḡā'bit_Ag^t</i>	sixty
<i>negutwāciḡābit_Aginyānā'nw^t</i>	} sixty-five
<i>negutwāciḡābit_Aginyānānwi'nesi'w^t</i>	
<i>nōhigā'bit_Ag^t</i>	seventy
<i>nōhigābit_Aginegutwāci'g^a</i>	} seventy-six
<i>nōhigābit_Aginegutwāciḡānesi'w^t</i>	
<i>necwāciḡā'bit_Ag^t</i>	eighty
<i>necwāciḡābit_Aginōhī'g^a</i>	} eighty-seven
<i>necwāciḡābit_Aginōhīḡānesi'w^t</i>	
<i>cāḡā'bit_Agi</i>	ninety
<i>cāḡābit_Aginecwāci'g^a</i>	} ninety-eight
<i>cāḡābit_Aginecwāciḡānesi'w^t</i>	
<i>ne'gutwā''kw^e</i>	one hundred
<i>negutwā''kwe'negu't^t</i>	} one hundred and one
<i>negutwā''kwenegut^ti'n^a</i>	
<i>nī'cwā''kw^e</i>	two hundred
<i>nīcwā''kwemedāswīnanīcwī'n^a</i>	two hundred and twelve
<i>ne'swā''kw^e</i>	three hundred
<i>neswā''kwenīcwābit_Agineswī'n^a</i>	three hundred and twenty-three
<i>negutwāciḡat_Aswā''kw^e</i>	six hundred
<i>nōhīḡat_Aswā''kw^e</i>	seven hundred
<i>nacwāciḡat_Aswā''kw^e</i>	eight hundred
<i>cāḡat_Aswā''kw^e</i>	nine hundred
<i>me'dāswā''kw^e</i>	ten hundred
<i>negutima'ka''kw^e</i>	one box
	} one thousand

<i>medāswinegutinesīwitaśwā''kw^e</i> <i>me'dāswā''kwe nā''kāna ne'gutwā''kw^e</i> <i>ne'gutima'ka''kwe nā''kāna ne'gutwā''kw_s</i>	} eleven hundred
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The cardinals from one to five terminate with the inanimate ending -i. They begin with the consonant *n*, a symbol that has already been shown to be intimately associated with the hand. The symbol is valuable for the suggestion it throws upon the probable origin of the numeral system. It has some connection, no doubt, with the method of counting with the fingers. Furthermore, it will be noticed that within the quinary series (viz., within one and five, inclusive) there are four different vowels standing immediately after *n*. What part and how much vowel-change may have played in the formation of the system is yet uncertain.

Negu'twāci'g^a, the cardinal for SIX, contains three elements. The first is *negut-*, and stands for ONE. The second is probably an initial stem *āc-*, and means OVER, ACROSS, MOVEMENT ACROSS.

ā'cōwⁱ over, beyond, an obstruction or expanse

ā'cowī'w^a he wades across a stream

ā'ci'ta'mⁱ again, in turn, by way of repetition or continuity

The third element is the ending -*g^a*; it is a frequent termination for words expressing quantity. It is to be found in all the series that SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, and NINE enter; and its vowel sometimes lengthens to *ā* when another element is added.

medāswinegutwāci'gā'nesi'wⁱ sixteen

But the vowel does not lengthen in *negutwāci'gataśwā''kw^e* SIX HUNDRED.

Nō'hig^a, the cardinal for SEVEN, does not yet admit complete analysis. Initial *n-* and final -*g^a* are the only intelligible elements that can be reduced at the present.

Ne'cwāci'g^a, the cardinal for EIGHT, has three parts, as in the case of the cardinal for SIX. The first is *nec-*, and stands for THREE; the second is *āc-*, and is the same as the one in the word for SIX; the third is the numeral ending -*g^a*.

Cā'g^a, the cardinal for NINE, is difficult to analyze. The numeral ending -*g^a* is clear, but *cā-* is doubtful. It is possible that *cā-* may be the same as *cā-*, an initial stem conveying the idea of freedom of movement, passage without friction, without obstruction, without impediment.

cā'powā'w^a he cries out, sending his voice through space
cāpu'nigā'n^t a needle (that is, an instrument for piercing through an obstacle with ease). This explanation is offered for the reason that, in counting hurriedly from one to ten, an adverb *kwi'tc^t* is given for TEN. The adverb means THE END, and *cā-* may possibly express the idea of an easy flow of the count up to the adverb *kwi'tc^t*, which marks the end of the series.

Me'dāsw^t, the word for TEN, is in the form of an intransitive verb of the third person singular inanimate. Its middle part *-dās-* may be the same thing as *tas-*, which signifies quantity, usually with the notion of AS MANY AS, AS MUCH AS. An explanation of initial *me-* is as yet impossible. [The element *tas-* occurs always in the form *taswi-*, which is an initial stem. See § 16. —T. M.]

With the cardinal TEN the numeration apparently changes over to a decimal system. After every new decimal, the cardinals take one or the other of two forms. One is a cumulative compound, wherein the part indicating the decimal comes first, and the smaller number second.

medāswinegu't^t ten one (meaning eleven)

nīcwābitagine'sw^t twenty-three

negutwā'kwenegu't^t one hundred one (meaning one hundred and one)

The other is also cumulative, but in the form of an intransitive verb of the third person singular inanimate. Furthermore, the combination incorporates *nesi-*, an element used in the word for FINGER, between the pronominal ending and the part expressing the numeral.

me'dāsw^t it is ten

medāswinyäwinesī'wi it is ten four

The initial member indicating the decimal can be omitted, if the numeration is clear from the context. For example, *negutinesī'w^t* can mean ELEVEN, TWENTY-ONE, THIRTY-ONE, FORTY-ONE, and so on up to and including NINETY-ONE. It jumps such numbers as a hundred and one and a thousand and one; but it can be used to express a hundred and eleven, and a thousand and eleven, and all the rest of the one-series, as in the instances just cited. In the same way *nīcwinesī'w^t* can be used to express a two-series; *neswinesī'w^t*, a three-series; and so on up to and including *cāgānesī'w^t*, a nine-series.

The element expressing HUNDRED is *-ā'kw^e*, the same thing, probably, as the collective suffix used to indicate things which are wooden: as—

cegā'kw^a pine [literally, skunk-tree.—T. M.]

ma''kwā'kw^a bear-tree

pa'sigā''kw^a board

The suffix ends with *e*, which is characteristic of an adverb. Numeration in the hundreds is expressed with the smaller number coming after the higher. There are two forms,—one with simply the combination of high and low number:

nīcwā''kwenī'cwⁱ two hundred two (for two hundred and two)

the other with this combination terminated by the local demonstrative adverb *ī'naⁱ* THERE, IN OR AT THAT PLACE:

nīcwā'kwe'nīcw'īn^a two hundred two there

The suffixed adverb has very nearly the force of ALSO, TOO, as used thus with numerals. In the series between six and nine, inclusive, where the numeral ending is *-ga*, the quantitative element *-tas-* [*taswi-*, see § 16. —T. M.] comes in between the cardinal and the sign for the hundred.

negutwāciga^taswā''kw^e six times hundred (for six hundred)

cāga^taswā''kw^e nine times hundred (for nine hundred)

It takes the same place in hundreds after a thousand.

medāswinegutit^aswā''kw^e ten one times hundred

medāswinegutinesīwit^aswā''kw^e one ten times hundred

Both of the preceding examples mean ELEVEN HUNDRED.

THOUSAND is expressed in two ways,—one by the combination of TEN and the sign for HUNDRED, *medāswā'kw^e*; the other, and the one more usual, by a compound expressing ONE BOX, *negutima'ka''kw^e*. The word for BOX is *ma'ka'kwⁱ*, of inanimate gender. With the meaning A THOUSAND, it takes the form of an adverb by ending with *e*. The term is of recent origin. In some of their earlier sales of land to the government, the people received payment partly in cash. This money was brought in boxes, each box containing a thousand dollars. From that circumstance the term for ONE BOX passed in numeration as an expression for A THOUSAND. The term is now a fixture, even though its form is less simple than the more logical word.

The psychological reason for the preference is not altogether clear. The fact that the word for ONE BOX stood as a single term for a definite high number may have had something to do with its adaptation. The word for TEN HUNDRED, on the other hand, represents ten groups of high numbers, each group having the value of a distinct number of units. To use one word that would stand for a high decimal number may have seemed easier than to express the same thing by the use of smaller integers in multiple form. As a matter of fact, very little is done with numerations that extend far into the thousands; yet, in spite of the little effort to count with high numbers, it is within the power of the language to express any number desired. To express TEN THOUSAND, and have it generally understood, is to say—

ne'gutima'ka''kw^e me'dāse'nw^t ini'tase'nw^t, which is, in the order as the words come, ONE BOX, IT IS TAKEN TEN TIMES, THAT IS ITS SUM

A number like FORTY THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTEEN would be—

ne'gutima'ka''kw^e nyä'wābitagita'swima'ka''kw^e nī'cwā'kwā'n^a medā'swineswī'n^a. The words in their order mean ONE BOX, FORTY IS THE NUMBER OF TIMES THE BOX IS TAKEN, TWO HUNDRED PLUS, TEN THREE ALSO [*Taswi* is the same as the initial stem *taswi*.—T. M.]

The more intelligent express such high numbers in shorter terms.

Cardinals occupy initial place in composition when they stand in an adjective relation: as—

ne'guti'neni'w^a one man
nī'cwi'kwā'g^t two women
negu'tīhi'w^a he is alone
nī'ciwā'g^t they are two

Cardinals are used freely as nouns, and it will be observed that in this connection they do not inflect for number or gender.

ne'nāwā'w^a ne'gut^t I saw one animate (object)
ne'nūt^a ne'gut^t I saw one inanimate (object)
nepyä'nāwā'g^t nyä'w^t I fetched four animate (objects)
ne'pyūt^o nyä'w^t I fetched four inanimate (objects)

§ 51. Ordinals

The ordinals are combinations with the initial parts derived from cardinals; but the first ordinal has a separate, distinct word. Begin—

§ 51

ning with the second ordinal is an incorporated *-ōnAMEg^t* or *-ānAMEg^t*, the final ending of which is the suffix *-g^t*, met with so frequently in a locative relation; that is the sense of it here. With the eleventh ordinal, and every other after, occurs the numeral element *tas-* between the cardinal and the compound ending *-ōnAMEg^t* or *-ānAMEg^t*. Ordinals do not inflect for number or gender. They are as follows:

<i>me'ne't^a</i>	first
<i>nīcō'nAME'g^t</i>	second
<i>nesō'nAME'g^t</i>	third
<i>nyäō'nAME'g^t</i>	fourth
<i>nyānANōnA'meg^t</i>	fifth
<i>negutwācigā'nAME'g^t</i>	sixth
<i>nōhigānAMEg^t</i>	seventh
<i>necwācigānAME'g^t</i>	eighth
<i>cāgā'nAME'g^t</i>	ninth
<i>medāsō'nAME'g^t</i>	tenth
<i>medāswinegut^ttasōnAMEg^t</i>	}eleventh
<i>medāswinegut^tnesiwi^ttasōnAMEg^t</i>	
<i>nīcwābitagitasōnAMEg^t</i>	twentieth
<i>negutwā'kwet^ttasōnAME'g^t</i>	hundredth
<i>medāswāk'wet^ttasōnAMEg^t</i>	}thousandth
<i>negutima'ka'kwet^ttasōnAMEg^t</i>	

§ 52. Iteratives and Distributives

Iteratives indicate repetition in point of time, as ONCE, TWICE, THRICE. They are derived from cardinals, and take the form of an inanimate, intransitive verb. With the sixth iterative occurs the numeral element *-tas-*, denoting quantity; it is incorporated after the cardinal elements, and is found with all the rest of the iteratives. The iteratives follow thus in order:

<i>ne'gute'nw^t</i>	first time
<i>nī'cenw^t</i>	second time
<i>ne'senw^t</i>	third time
<i>nyä'wen^t</i>	fourth time
<i>nyā'nANE'nw^t</i>	fifth time
<i>negutwācigatase'nw^t</i>	sixth time
<i>nō'higatase'nw^t</i>	seventh time
<i>ne'cwācigatase'nw^t</i>	eighth time
<i>cā'gatase'nw^t</i>	ninth time
<i>me'dāse'nwi</i>	tenth time
<i>medāswinegutitase'nw^t</i>	}eleventh time
<i>medāswinegutinesiwi^tase'nw^t</i>	

nīcwābitagīase'nw^t twentieth time
negutwā'kwetase'nw^t hundredth time
nīcwā'kweneswābitagīnyāwīnesīwitase'nw^t two hundred and thirty-fourth time
negutima'kaikwetase'nw^t
medāswā'kwetase'nw^t } thousandth time

Distributives express the number of things taken at a time, as EACH ONE, TWO AT A TIME, EVERY THIRD ONE, FOUR APIECE. The distributive idea is expressed by reduplication of the first numeral syllable. In the following are some distributive cardinals:

nā'negu't^t each one
nānīcw^t each two
nānesw^t or *nā'nesw^t* each three
nā'nyāw^t or *nānyāw^t* each four
nā'nyānā'nw^t each five
nānegutwāci'g^a each six
nā'nōhī'g^a each seven
nā'necwāci'g^a each eight
cā'cag^a each nine
mā'medā'sw^t each ten
mā'medāswīnegu't^t
mā'medāswīnegutinesī'w^t } each eleven
nā'nīcwābitā'g^t each twenty
nā'nīcwābitāginī'cw^t
nā'nīcwābitāginīcwīnesī'w^t } each twenty-two
nā'neswābitā'g^t each thirty
nā'nyāwābitā'g^t each forty
nā'nyānānwābitā'g^t each fifty
nā'negutwācīgābitā'g^t each sixty
nā'nōhīgābitā'g^t each seventy
nā'necwācīgābitā'g^t each eighty
cā'cāgābitā'g^t each ninety
nā'negutwā'kw^e each hundred
mā'medāswā'kw^e
nā'negutimā'k^a'kw^e } each thousand

Examples of distributive ordinals are—

māmene't^a every first
nā'nīcōnāme'g^t every second
nānesōnāmeg^t every third
mā'medāsōnāme'g^t every tenth
nā'negutwā'kwetāsōnāme'g^t every hundredth

Distributive iteratives are expressed in a similar way.

nā'negute'nw^t it is once at a time

nā'nīce'nwⁱ it is twice at a time

nā'nese'nwⁱ it is thrice at a time

These distributives are often followed by the local demonstrative adverb *i'cⁱ*, denoting TOWARD, MOVEMENT AWAY TOWARD SOMETHING. The adverb adds to the distributive notion the idea of movement by groups.

nā'nīcwi'cⁱ two at a time

nā'neswi'cⁱ three at a time

mā'medāswinīcwinēsīwi'cⁱ thirteen at a time

nānīcwābitāgitāsōnāmegi'cⁱ every twentieth

nā'nōhigatāsenwi'cⁱ every seventh time

In the multiplication of two numbers, the cardinal is the multiplicand, and the iterative the multiplier.

ne'guti nā'negute'nwⁱ one is taken once at a time

nī'cwi nā'nīce'nwⁱ two is taken twice at a time

ne'swi nā'nese'nwⁱ three is taken thrice at a time

NOTE.—Half and fourth are the only fractions made use of by the dialect. The word for HALF is expressed absolutely by *ā'pe'ta'wⁱ*, an adverb denoting half. It forms the denominator, while a cardinal is used in the numerator.

negutā'pe'ta'wⁱ one half

nīcwā'pe'ta'wⁱ two halves, two parts

The word for FOURTH is *ā'sepā'n^e*, an adverbial form of *ā'sepā'n^a* RACCOON. The term comes from the fourth of a dollar, which was the price paid for a raccoon-skin at the trading-store. It is the denominator, while the cardinal is the numerator.

negutā'sepā'n^e one-fourth, quarter of a dollar

neswā'sepā'ne^e three-fourths, seventy-five cents

There is a demonstrative adverb *īna'* with the meaning usually of THERE, AT THAT PLACE. When it comes after such phrases as have been given, it has the meaning of PLUS; the fraction is partly broken, and the terms then express addition.

negutāpe'ta'wīna' one and a half

negutāsepā'nīna' plus a fourth

§ 53. Adverbs

There are numerous adverbs that express great variety of relationship. By far the greater number of them are used as adjuncts. As

adjuncts, some have great freedom of position, and others have not that freedom. Among the adverbs of free position are those expressing time.

ī'nug' ä'pyāyā'n' to-day was when I came
pyä'w^a ä'cawa'iy' he came long while ago
askA'tcīmā''ⁱ nī'py^a by and by I will come

Other adverbs are less free as to position. Such are those that do the double office of prepositions and conjunctions.

ne''kani pe'pōn' during the whole year
ne''kan ä''pemātesī'tc' during all the time that he lived
ä'yä'pwā'wⁱ nā'wa'kwä'g' before noon; before mid-day
ä'yä'pwāwⁱ pyā'tc' before he came

These limited adverbs occurring in first position really perform the office of initial stems. The following examples show adverbs in composition with secondary stems:

tcī'gepyä'g' at the edge of the water
a'kwitapa'kwi on top of the lodge

Some adverbs express a modal sense, and have the force of either a clause or a sentence.

kaci'wāto'wⁱ of course it is true (said in answer to a question)
kaci'wī'to'wⁱ I don't care what happens; it makes no difference
ma'sātcī pyä'w^a he had a hard time getting here

The qualifying force of some adverbs is so extensive as to make them into conjunctives. Amongst their many values as conjunctives are—

General connectives:

nā''k^a AND, as—

kī'na nā''kanī'n^a thou and I

ce'wān^a BUT, in which an objection is implied, as—

ātcī'mohā'p' ce'wāna *wA'nī'kü'w^a* he was told, but he forgot

Introductives:

nahī' WELL, I SAY, as—

nahī', *nīātesō''kānā'w^a* — well, I will tell the story of him —

kaho', with much the same meaning and use as *nahī'*

kA'cinā''ⁱ WHY! HOW NOW! as—

ka'cinā''ⁱ, *ä'gwināgwai'yAni'n'* why, thou hast not gone yet!

kA'cinā'gw^a is much like *kA'cinā''ⁱ*

§ 54. Interjections

There are also numerous interjections. Naturally most of them have to do with the expression of subjective states of the mind. There are two interjections of very common use, and they will be the only ones to be mentioned. One is *tai'yāna*^{'t} WOULD THAT I HAD MY WISH! It is used with the subjunctive to express a prayer.

Tai'yāna^{'t} *pyā'te!* oh, I wish he would come!

The other interjection is *tcī*, expressing wonder. It can and often does occur alone, but it is more common as a suffix.

ä'pyātcitcī! when, lo, here he came!

§ 55. CONCLUSION

On account of the limitation of space, the description of the grammatical processes of this Algonquian dialect is to be taken rather as a general summary. A good deal of matter has been lightly touched upon, and much has been wholly left out. It has been the plan to point out in as few words as possible such features as would give an intelligible idea of what the grammar of this one Algonquian dialect is like. The description will close with the text of a myth that was purposely abbreviated in the telling. It is told in a straightforward idiom without any attempt at rhetorical emphasis, which often goes with the language of myths. The translation keeps close to the order of the ideas expressed in the text. There is also a short analysis of some of its morphology and syntax.

TEXT

[Cf. Fox Texts, pp. 70-74.]

Ma'kwan¹
Bear

pämine'kawätci²
they who are in pursuit of him.

Inip¹³
It is said

acawaiy⁶⁴
long ago

negutenw¹⁵
it was once

ä'pepög¹⁶
when it was
winter

ä'A'skime'pug¹⁷
when first it had
snowed

ä'A'skänwig¹⁸
while the first
snow was on

neswi⁹
three

neniwag¹¹⁰
men

äcicäwätci¹¹
they went to
hunt for game

māmai^{a12}
early

kegiceyā^{a13}
in the morning.

Apatā'kip¹⁴
On the hillside

ä'pe'kwisasa^gk¹⁵
where it was thick
with growth

ma'kwan¹¹⁶
bear

ä'piti'kawänitci¹⁷
he went in making a
trail.

¹ *ma'kwan* object of the following participle (*ma'kwa* animate noun, nominative singular; -*n* objective animate singular suffix [§ 42]).

² *pämine'ka'wätci'gi* third person plural, animate, transitive participle (*pämi-* for *pemi-* [initial stem denoting MOVEMENT FAST; *e* of *pemi-* becomes *ä* in the participle, § 33]; -*ne'ka-* a secondary stem meaning TO DRIVE, TO PURSUE [§ 19]; -*w-* [§ 21 (?)]; -*ä-* refers to the animate object *ma'kwan*; -*ci'gi* animate, third person, participial plural [§ 33]).

³ *Inip* combination of an introductive and a quotative (*In* [§ 47] singular, inanimate, demonstrative pronoun used as an introductive; *i'p* impersonal quotative, occurring usually as a suffix [§ 41]).

⁴ *acawaiye* temporal adverb expressing remote time in the past (§ 53).

⁵ *ne'gute'nw* iterative (§ 52) in the form of the third-person singular, inanimate, intransitive verb of the independent series (§ 28).

⁶ *ä'pepög* third person singular inanimate intransitive verb of the indefinite conjunctive mode (*ä-* temporal augment; *pep-* initial stem used to express notions of WINTER, COLD, SNOW [§ 16]; -*gi* suffix with a locative sense [§ 42]).

⁷ *ä'A'ski'me'pu'gi* same kind of verb as in note 6 (*aski-* initial stem signifying EARLY, SOON, FIRST [§ 16]; *me-* initial stem common with words for SNOW, ICE, COLD; *me'pu-* TO SNOW).

⁸ *ä'A'skänwig* an impersonal verb of the intransitive conjunctive mode (*ask-* same as in note 7; -*änw-* secondary stem denoting STATE, CONDITION; -*gi* suffix with locative sense).

⁹ *ne'swi* cardinal used as an adjective to the following noun.

¹⁰ *ne'niwa'gi* animate, plural noun, subject of the following verb (*ne'niwa* nominative singular; -*gi* suffix denoting PLURALITY [§ 42]).

¹¹ *äcicäwätci* (*cicä* initial stem TO HUNT; third person plural, animate, intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode [§ 29]).

¹² *māmai* temporal adverb expressing relative time.

¹³ *kegi'ceyā'pa* temporal adverb referring to that part of the morning just before and immediately after sunrise.

¹⁴ *apātā'kip* independent, intransitive, verbal combination used like a noun (*apāt-* akin to *ä'pe'ta'w* signifying HALF, PART OF; -*ä'ki-* akin to *a'k* meaning EARTH, GROUND, LAND; -*gi* locative suffix).

¹⁵ *ä'pe'kwisasa'g* same kind of verb as in note 6 (*ä-* vowel augment same as in note 6, but used here, as in other places of the text, with a relative force; *pe'kw-* initial stem denoting DENSITY, THICKNESS [§ 16]; *sasa-g-* reduplicated form of the initial stem *sag-* [see *sag-* § 16], which has taken on the sense of TAKING HOLD OF; -*k* third person, inanimate, pronominal ending of the conjunctive mode [§ 29]).

¹⁶ *ma'kwan* objective form of an animate noun used as the subject of the subordinate verb that follows.

¹⁷ *ä'piti'ka'wäni'ci* third person singular, animate, intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode, used with a subordinate subject in the objective relation (*pi-* initial stem denoting MOVEMENT INTO AN ENCLOSURE [§ 16]; for the *ci-* of *piti-* cf. *pyäci-* under *pyä-*, also § 8; -*ka-* secondary stem expressing the notion of MAKING AN IMPRINT, SIGN, TRACK, and of MOVING, GOING [§ 18]; -*wä-* connective stem [§ 20]; -*ni-* incorporated representative of an objective relation, and parallel in construction to -*n* in *ma'kwan*. It belongs with -*ci* in *nüci*, and so enters into a subjective relation [§ 34]).

Neguti¹⁸ ā'pīcināganātē¹⁹ ā'a'ci'kahwātē²⁰ "Wātcikēsiyāgicisāwā!"²¹
 One he went in following he set him to going. "To the place whence the source
 after him of cold is he going fast!"

āhinātē²² wītāmātē²³
 said he to him whom he
 him accompanied.

Wātcikēsiyāgi²⁴ wāse'kag²⁵ "Wātcināwā'kwāgicisāwā!"²⁶ āhitē²⁷
 From the place he who went "Towards the place whence the mid- said he.
 where it is cold round by way of, day is he hurrying!"

Ini²⁸ nā'ka²⁹ wātcināwā'kwāgi³⁰ wāse'kag²⁵ "Ā'pagicimugicisāwā!"³¹
 And another to the place whence he who went "towards the place of the
 then the source of the noon-day round by falling down is he hastening!"

āhitē²⁷
 said he.

Aiyācō'k^a ā'kiwināmō'tātiwātē³² Askatē³³ petegipyāyāt^{a 34}
 To and fro long did they together keep Later on it is said behind he who was
 him in flight from them. coming

ā'kigāhināpitē³⁵ ā'A'skipagāme'kwisenigiti³⁶ keyāhāpaiy^u ā'peme³⁷
 on the ground as he it lay with a green surface lo, it was the fact to a place
 looked, above

¹⁸ *ne'guti* cardinal (§ 50) used as an adjective modifying a noun understood.

¹⁹ *ā'pīcinā'gānātē* third person singular, animate, transitive verb of the conjunctive mode (*pī*- same as in note 17; *nāga*- initial stem meaning to FOLLOW AFTER [§ 16]; *-n*- an intervocalic causal particle [§§ 8, 21]; *-ā*- objective pronominal element referring to the bear; *-tē* pronominal sign standing for the third person singular subject, conjunctive [§ 29]).

²⁰ *ā'a'ci'kahwātē* same kind of verb as in note 19 (*-ka*- secondary stem, same as in note 17; *-hw*- causal particle [§ 37]; *-ā*- same as in note 19; *-tē* same as in note 19).

²¹ *wātcikēsiyāgicisāwā* third person singular, animate intransitive verb of the independent series (*wātc*- initial stem [from *utē*, a locative adverb meaning WHENCE, SOURCE FROM, AWAY FROM (§ 16)]; *keciyā*- initial combination expressing COLD; *-gi* locative suffix denoting PLACE WHERE [§ 42]; *wātcikēsiyāgi* WHENCE COMES THE COLD is an inanimate participial construction; *ici* a locative adverb denoting HITHER, AWAY, TOWARD; it often occurs as a suffix [§ 52]; *wātcikēsiyāgici* TOWARD THE PLACE WHENCE COMES THE COLD takes the place of an initial stem to the rest of the combination; *-isā*- secondary stem expressing SWIFT MOVEMENT [§ 19]; *-wā* third person singular, pronominal sign representing an independent animate subject, lengthened from *wa* [§§ 6, 28]).

²² *āhinātē* same kind of verb as in notes 19 and 20 (*-ā*- as in note 15; *hi*- initial stem meaning to SAY [§ 16]; *-n*- as in note 19; *-ā*- as in note 19; *-tē* as in note 19).

²³ *wītāmātē* third person singular, animate, transitive participle (*wi*- initial stem denoting COMPANIONSHIP [§ 16]; *-tē* [§ 8]; *-ā*- secondary stem denoting CONDITION; *-m*- animate causal particle [§§ 21, 37]. *-ā*- animate objective sign; *-ātcini* contains both subject and object, being a possessive, transitive participial [§ 33]).

²⁴ Explained in note 21.

²⁵ Participial (§ 33), intransitive animate: hence the termination *-ga*, not *-ta* (see § 34); *-ka*- a secondary stem meaning TRACK, IMPRINT (§ 18).

²⁶ *wātc*- as in note 21; *nāwa'kwāgi* (§ 53); the final *t* elided (§ 12) before *ici*- (§ 16), the final *t* of which is likewise lost; *-isāwā* as in note 21.

²⁷ *hi* an initial stem as in *āhinātē* (note 22); the form is the third person singular animate intransitive of the conjunctive mode (§ 29).

²⁸ See note 3.

²⁹ An adverb (§ 53).

³⁰ See note 26.

³¹ *-ā* prefix; *pagi*- an initial stem meaning to STRIKE (§ 14); *-icisāwā* as in notes 21, 26; *gi* locative suffix.

³² *-ā* prefix; *kiwi*- an initial stem cognate with *ki*- (§ 16); *-n*- Intervocalic (§ 8); *-ā*- a secondary stem often used to indicate FLIGHT (§ 19); *-m*- instrumental particle (§§ 21, 37); *-ā*- sign of middle voice (§ 40); *-ā*- an intervocalic (§ 8); *-ā*- is not clear; *-fi*- sign of reciprocity (§ 38); *-wātc* sign of third plural animate intransitive conjunctive mode (§ 29).

³³ For *Askatē*+*ipi*; *Askatē* cognate with *aski*- (§ 16); *ipi* as in note 3.

³⁴ *petegi*- an adverb; *gi* locative suffix, as in notes 7, 8, 14; *pyāyā* contains *pyā* an initial stem denoting MOVEMENT HITHER (§ 16); *yā*- an initial stem meaning the same (see below *āyāwātē*, note 41); from the analogy of *pyāyāne* (from *pyā*) it is likely that the true stem is *yā*; *-ta* termination of the animate intransitive participial, third person singular (§ 33).

³⁵ For *ā'kig*+ *āhināpitē*; *ā'kig* on the GROUND; *-gi* a locative suffix (§ 42); *āhināpitē* (*ā*-*tē* [§ 29]); *-h*- (§ 8); *-i* for *ici* THUS (§ 12); *-n*- (§ 8); *āpi* to SEE.

³⁶ *-en*- a connective stem meaning RECLINING, LYING DOWN (§ 20); *ā*-*gi* as in note 6; *-tē* (§ 54).

³⁷ I have altered *ā'peme* of Dr. Jones to *ā'peme*. The first can not be analyzed; the second can, and is supported by *ā'peme* of the Fox Texts (72.1). The *ā'peme* of the Fox Texts at 72.2 apparently is a typographical error. The analysis is *ā*-*gi*, as in note 6.

ä'i'ciweneguwätc¹³⁸ ma'kwan¹ Sasaganig¹³⁹ ä'tetepine'kawāwätc¹⁴⁰
 was the way along which the bear. At the thick while round in a circle they
 they were led by growth drove him
 keyāhapaüy¹⁴¹ ä'pemeg¹³⁷ äyāwätc¹⁴¹
 was really the into the above when they
 time went.
 Ini ä'kōwepyāyät¹⁴² ä'kōwätcin¹⁴³ ä'kwāgōhōmätc¹⁴⁴ "Mätāpyē¹⁴⁵
 There- behind he who him who was then did he cry out to "O Union-of-
 upon came next him, Rivers,
 kiwātāwē¹⁴⁶ Ä'pemegiku¹⁴⁷ keteciwenegonānā!''¹⁴⁸ ähinätc¹²² Mätāpyā-
 let us turn Into the sky truly he is leading you and said he to Union-of-Rivers
 back! me away! him
 han¹⁴⁹ cewāna¹⁵⁰ ä'pwāwipeme'tāgutc¹⁵¹
 him, but not a reply did he get from him.
 Mätāpyā¹⁵² ä'tcāwine¹⁵³ k' pāmipahut¹⁵⁴ wīsagenūhāhan¹⁵⁵ ähutaihitc¹⁵⁴
 Union-of- in the middle he who ran past little Hold-Tight did he have for
 Rivers space his pet.
 Tāgwāginig¹⁵⁵ ämatanāwätc¹⁵⁶ ma'kwan¹ änesāwätc¹⁵⁷
 In the fall of the year then they overtook him bear-him; then they killed him;
 kīcinesāwätc¹⁵⁸ me'tegumici u'te'kunan¹ ä'kīckīckahamowätc¹⁵⁹
 after they had slain him oak boughs much did they cut them,
 nā'ka¹⁶⁰ ma'komicyān¹ ähapackinanihāwätc¹⁶⁰ ma'kwan¹ kīciwīnā-
 likewise sumachs; then they put him to lie on bear-him; when they
 top of

¹³⁸ *ici* initial stem THUS (§ 16); *-we-* variant of *wa* (from *āwa* [§ 16] by § 12); *-n-* (§ 21); *-e-* (§ 8); *-gu-* sign of the passive (§ 41); *ä-wätc* (§ 29).

¹³⁹ *sasag-* reduplicated form of *sag-* an initial stem (§ 16), as in note 15; *-a-* as in *paga-* beside *pagi-* TO STRIKE; *-ni-* (§ 34); *-g* locative suffix (§ 42).

¹⁴⁰ *ä-* temporal particle; *telep-* a collateral form of *telep-* (§ 16), an initial stem denoting MOVEMENT IN A CIRCLE (cf. *pemi-* and *pem-*); *ne'ka-* (§ 19) as in note 2; *-w-* apparently a glide (§ 8); *äwätc* termination of the conjunctive mode (§ 29), showing that the subject is the third person plural animate, and the object the third person animate, singular or plural.

¹⁴¹ Third person plural animate past subjunctive intransitive (§ 29).

¹⁴² Compare *ä'kōwätcin* note 43; *pydyä* as in note 34.

¹⁴³ A participial (see § 33).

¹⁴⁴ *ä-ätc* (§ 29); *-m-* (§§ 21, 37).

¹⁴⁵ For *äp* cf. *äpō* (§ 24); the form is a vocative singular animate (§ 42); see also § 6.

¹⁴⁶ For *kiwā-tāwē*; *kiwā-* initial stem TO TURN BACK (§ 16); *-tāwē* for *-tāwe* (§ 6) sign for first person plural (excl.) intransitive imperative (§ 31).

¹⁴⁷ *ä'pemig*, explained in note 37; *-ku* VERILY.

¹⁴⁸ For *ke-gunānā* with prolongation of the final vowel as in *-isāwā* (see note 21); *ke-gunāna* is the pronominal sign showing that the subject is the third person singular animate, and the object the first person plural inclusive independent mode (§ 28); *tec-* variant of *tac-* (§ 16); *-wene-* as in note 38.

¹⁴⁹ *An* sign of the singular objective case singular animate (§ 42).

¹⁵⁰ See § 53.

¹⁵¹ *pwāwi-* the negative of the conjunctive verb; it stands following the particles *ä-* and *wi-*, and before the verbal stems (see § 35.3); *-gu-* sign of the passive (§ 41); *ä-ätc* (§ 29).

¹⁵² A participial (§ 33); *pāmi-* for *pemi-* by reason of the change of vowel in the participle; *pemi-* (§ 16); *pahu-* same as *pahō-* (§ 19).

¹⁵³ *-An* as in note 49; *wi-sag-* (§ 16).

¹⁵⁴ *ä-tc* (§ 29); *-h-* a glide (§ 8); *-u-* possessive pronoun HIS (§ 45); for the omission of the suffix, see p. 852.

¹⁵⁵ *-g* locative suffix; *-ni-* as in note 39.

¹⁵⁶ *ä-* temporal prefix; *-n-* an instrumental particle (§ 21); *-äwätc* pronominal sign showing the subject to be the third person plural animate, and the object the third person, singular or plural, animate, conjunctive mode (§ 29); *māta* TO OVERTAKE (§ 16).

¹⁵⁷ *nes-* an initial stem meaning TO SLAY (§ 16); *ä-äwätc* as in note 56.

¹⁵⁸ *kici-* an initial stem denoting COMPLETION (§ 16).

¹⁵⁹ *ä-A mowätc* (§ 29); *kic-* (§ 25); *kick-* (§ 10); *-a-* (§ 8); *-h-* (§ 21).

¹⁶⁰ *ä-äwätc* (§ 29); *-h-* (§ 8); see note 91.

nihāwātci⁶¹ āwāpinenyāskwā'kāwātci⁶² Wātāpagi⁶³ āhinā'kāwātci⁶⁴
 finished skinning then began they to throw them Eastward was where they
 and cutting him up everywhere. threw
 uwīcī⁶⁴; ⁶⁴ pāpōgin⁶⁵ ā'katawiwāpagi⁶⁶ anāgwag⁶⁷ ketciwagāpe⁶⁸; ⁶⁸
 his head; in the winter time when nearly morning stars are they accustomed
 to rise;
 inipiyōw⁶⁹ ini ma'kōwīcī⁷⁰ Nā'ka²⁹ uta'tagāgwān⁷¹ ā'e'g⁷²
 it is said in times that bear-head and his back-bone also
 past
 wātāpagi⁷³ āhinā'kāwātci⁷⁴ Ā'e'gāpe⁷⁴ pepōg⁷⁵ nāwāpi⁷⁶ anāgwag¹⁶⁷
 to the east was where they threw. Also it is wont in the winter they are seen stars
 āsipōcigī⁷⁷ inipiyōw⁶⁹ ini uta'tagāgwān⁷¹
 they that lie close and it is said of old that his back-bone.
 together.
 Inipi³ nāka²⁹ iyōwe winwāw⁷⁸ inigi⁷⁹ nīgāni nyāwi anāgwag¹⁶⁷
 It is said also in the past they these in front four stars
 ina ma'kwā⁸⁰ nā'ka²⁹ petegi neswi inigipiyōwe⁸¹ ma'kwan¹¹
 that bear and behind three they are said in bear-him
 the past
 pāmine'kāwātci⁸² Tcāwine'kitcā⁸² ina¹ tcagi anāgō⁸³ acitā'kwagō-
 they who were in pursuit Truly in the middle there little tiny star near to does
 of him. space
 tcinwā⁸⁴ Inapi⁸⁵ anemōhā⁸⁶ utaiyān⁸⁷ Mātāpyā⁸⁸ Wisagenōhan⁸⁹
 it hang. It is said little dog, his pet Union-of-Rivers Hold-Tight.
 that one
 Tagwāgigin¹⁸⁸ me'tegumicyān¹⁸⁹ nā'ka²⁹ ma'kumicyān¹⁸⁹ wātciameck-
 Every autumn oaks and sumachs why they are

⁶¹ *kīcī*- as in note 58; *-āwātci* pronominal termination of conjunctive mode (§ 29), as in notes 56, 57; *-h-* (§ 21); *wināni-* (§ 16).

⁶² For *ā-āwātci*; *wāpi-* an initial stem denoting INCEPTION (§ 16).

⁶³ *wātāpagi* for *wātāpagi* (note 73); *īcī* (§§ 10, 52).

⁶⁴ *u-* HIS; for the absence of the *m* suffix see § 45; *-ī* (§ 42).

⁶⁵ Compare *ā-pepōgi* (note 6) and *pepōgi* (note 73); the form is a locative (§ 42).

⁶⁶ A locative; cf. *pācū'kāwāwāpānig* UNTIL NEARLY MORNING 298.2; *-wāpa-* is the same as the initial stem *wāpa-* TO SEE; note, too, *āwāba-nig* AT BREAK OF DAY 222.15, with the common fluctuation of *b* and *p* (see § 3).

⁶⁷ Noun, animate plural (§ 42).

⁶⁸ For *ketciwāgi+āpe'e*; for *āpe'e* see § 14; *ketciwāgi* (*-wāgi* is the sign for the third person plural inanimate intransitive of the independent mode [§ 28]).

⁶⁹ For *ini+ipi+iyōwe*; see note 3 and *iyōwe* next paragraph.

⁷⁰ *ma'kwā+uwīcī* (see § 12).

⁷¹ *u-AN* (§ 45).

⁷² See § 10; *ā-gī* as in note 6.

⁷³ A locative.

⁷⁴ See §§ 10, 14.

⁷⁵ See note 6.

⁷⁶ *nāw-* an initial stem meaning TO SEE; cf. *ānāwāwātci(i)* THEY BEHELD HIM 198.2; *-āpi* the termination of the third person plural indefinite passive, independent mode (§ 41).

⁷⁷ See *-cin-* (§ 20) and also § 12.

⁷⁸ Accidentally omitted in § 44.

⁷⁹ Animate plural of *ina* (§ 47).

⁸⁰ I have altered *inini ma'kwāni* of Dr. Jones to *ina ma'kwā* (see 72.8), as is required by the analysis (cf. §§ 42, 47).

⁸¹ For *inigi ipi iyōwe* see notes 69 and 79.

⁸² *-tā* VERILY.

⁸³ See § 12 for the formation of the diminutive formation of *Anāgwa*.

⁸⁴ *-cin-* (§ 20?); *-wa* (§ 28).

⁸⁵ For *ina+ipi* see notes 3 and 80.

⁸⁶ *a* shows that the noun is animate singular (§ 42).

⁸⁷ See § 45.

⁸⁸ *-gin* termination of the locative plural (§ 42).

⁸⁹ Inanimate plural (§ 72).

wipaga'k⁹⁰ āhapaskinanicigāwātci⁹¹ āmeskōwig⁹² tā'tupagōn.⁹³ Īni⁹⁴
 red at the leaf when they put to lie on top of then bloody became leaves That
 tāgwāgigin¹ wāttimeckwipaga'k¹⁰⁰ me'tegumicyān¹⁰⁰ nā'ka²⁹
 in the fall why the leaves became red oaks and
 ma'komicyān¹.⁸⁹
 sumachs.
 Inā'kwitci¹.⁹⁵
 That is the end.

[Translation]

THEY WHO ARE IN PURSUIT OF THE BEAR

It is said that once on a time long ago when it was winter, when it had snowed for the first time, while yet the first fall of snow lay on the ground, there were three men who went forth to hunt for game early in the morning. At a place on the side of a hill where there was a thick growth of shrub did a bear enter in, as was shown by the sign of his trail. One (man) went in after him and started him going in flight. "Away toward the place from whence comes the cold is he making fast!" called he to his companion.

He who had gone round by way of the place from whence comes the cold, "In the direction from whence comes the source of the mid-day time is he hurrying away!" he said.

Then another who had gone round by way of the place from whence comes the noon-time, "Toward the place where (the Sun) falls down is he hastening away!" said he.

Back and forth for a long while did they keep the bear fleeing from one and then another. After a while, according to the story, as one that was coming behind looked down at the earth, lo! the surface of it was green. For it is really the truth that up into the sky were they led away by the bear. While about the place of the dense growth of shrub they were chasing him, then was surely the time that into the sky they went.

Thereupon he who came behind cried out to him who was next, "O Union-of-Rivers, let us turn back! Verily, into the sky is he leading us away!" said he to Union-of-Rivers, but no reply did he get from him.

Union-of-Rivers, who went running between (the man ahead and the man behind), had Hold-Tight (a little puppy) for a pet.

⁹⁰ wātci- as in notes 21, 26, 30; meckwi- BLOOD, same as meskwī (see § 9); -pa- as in tā'tupagōn¹ LEAVES; -ga- (§ 20); -ki (§ 29).

⁹¹ ā-wātci (§ 29); -gā- (§ 20); -ci- for -cin- (§ 20); loss of n (§ 12); -h- presumably a glide (§ 8); apaskināni same as apackināni in āhapackināni-hāwātci above (see note 90).

⁹² āmeskōwig¹ a variant for āmeskōwī'ki; ā-ki (§ 29); meskō- for meskwī (note 90, § 12 near the end); -wi- (20).

⁹³ Plural of tā'tupagwī (see §§ 12, 42); -pa- as in wāttimeckwipaga'ki.

⁹⁴ See note 3.

⁹⁵ For Īni' d'kwitci (§ 10); ā-tci (§ 29).

In the fall they overtook the bear; then they slew him; after they had slain him, then many boughs of an oak did they cut, likewise sumachs; then with the bear lying on top (of the boughs) they skinned him and cut up his meat; after they had skinned him and cut up his meat, then they began to scatter (the parts) in all directions. Toward the place from whence the dawn of day hurled they the head; in the winter time when the dawn is nearly breaking, (certain) stars were wont to appear; it has been said that they were that head. And his back-bone toward the east did they also fling. It is also common in the winter time for (certain) stars to be seen lying close together. It has been said that they were that back-bone.

And it has also been told of them (viz., the bear and the hunters) that the (group of) four stars in front was the bear, and that the three behind were they who were in pursuit of the bear. There in between (the star in front and the star behind) a tiny little star hangs. They say that was a little dog, Hold-Tight, which was pet to Union-of-Rivers.

As often as it is autumn the oaks and sumachs redden at the leaf for the reason that when they (the hunters) place (the bear) on top of (the boughs), then stained become the leaves with blood. That is why every autumn the leaves of the oaks and sumachs redden.

That is the end of the story.

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